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The 'Awakening movement' in early nineteenth-century Germany:  
The making of a modern and orthodox Protestantism

By

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Doctor of Philosophy  
The University of Edinburgh  
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## Declarations

I, Andrew Alan Kloes, hereby certify that this thesis has been written by me; that it is the record of work carried out by me; and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

In compliance with university regulations for the assessment of research degrees, I acknowledge that some of the contents of this thesis, totaling less than 5,000 words in total, appear in the following journal articles that have been previously published or that are scheduled for publication.

‘The Committee for the Relief of Distress in Germany’, *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 40 (2014), 163-201

‘European Revivals and the History of Evangelicalism: Moving Beyond the Anglo-American Paradigm’, *Fides et Historia*, 47 (2015), forthcoming

‘Disassembling Orthodoxy in the Age of the Enlightenment: Frederick the Great and his Confession of Faith’, *Harvard Theological Review*, 109 (2016), forthcoming

‘German Protestants’ Interpretations of George Whitefield, 1739-1857’, *Wesley and Methodist Studies*, 8 (2016), forthcoming

‘The Enlightenment in the Historical Imagination of Evangelical and Awakened Protestants in Europe, Britain, and North America, c. 1750-1850’, *Religion in the Age of Enlightenment*, 6 (2016), forthcoming

This thesis follows the third edition of the Modern Humanities Research Association’s *Style Guide*.

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the ‘Awakening movement’ (*Erweckungsbewegung*) in German Protestantism during the *Vormärz* period (1815-48) in German history. Many historians have noted that the Awakening was the last nationwide Protestant reform and revival movement to occur in Germany. This thesis interprets the Awakening movement as a product of the larger social changes that were re-shaping German society during the *Vormärz period*. Theologically, Awakened Protestants were traditionalists. They affirmed religious doctrines that orthodox Protestants had professed since the confessional statements of the Reformation-era. However, Awakened Protestants were also distinctly modern. Their efforts to spread their religious beliefs were successful because of the new political freedoms and economic opportunities that emerged in the early nineteenth century. These social conditions gave members of the emerging German middle class new means and abilities to pursue their religious goals. Awakened Protestants started many academic and popular publications, voluntary societies, and institutions for social reform. Adapting Protestantism to modern society in these ways was the most original and innovative aspect of the Awakening movement. After an introductory chapter, this study proceeds to discuss Awakened Protestants’ religious identity in relation to the history of the German Protestant tradition. Chapter one examines the historical development of the conception of religious ‘awakening’ within German Protestant thought from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Chapter two then analyses how the Awakening movement was animated by a particular set of objections to the eighteenth-century religious Enlightenment and to the Christianity of those who called themselves Protestant ‘rationalists’. Chapters three through six consider how the Awakening movement developed within four distinct areas of Protestant religious life: preaching, academic theology, organised evangelism, and pastoral initiatives. The thesis concludes that the Awakening movement represented the realisation of certain long-term reform goals that Martin Luther had defined in the 1520s. It was a type of Protestantism, whose appearance had previously been inhibited by the limitations of the social, political, and economic conditions of the early modern period. This thesis is the first substantial analysis of the Awakening written in English.



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Scotland, the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Stanford University Library, the Tübingen Universitätsbibliothek, the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, the University of Michigan Library, and the University of Toronto Library.

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## Abbreviations

AanKG	Archiv für alte und neue Kirchengeschichte
ACDS	Archives du christianisme au dix-neuvième siècle
ADB	Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vols. 1-56, Leipzig, 1875-1912.
AHR	The American Historical Review
AkAk	Akademie Aktuell: Zeitschrift der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AKZ	Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung
ALZE	Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung: Ergänzungsblätter
ARtLkS	Allgemeines Repertorium für die theologische Litteratur und kirchliche Statistik
BBKL	Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon, vols. 1-34, Nordhausen, 1975-2013.
BMS	Berlinische Monatsschrift
BPKG	Blätter für pfälzische Kirchengeschichte und religiöse Volkskunde
BWKG	Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte
DVCS	De Vereeniging: Christelijke Stemmen
DVS	Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift
DZWL	Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben
EC	Evangelical Christendom
EKZ	Evangelische Kirchenzeitung
EM	Evangelical Magazine
FBRH	Fliegende Blätter aus dem Rauhen Hause zu Horn bei Hamburg
FP	La France Protestante: ou vies des protestants français qui se sont fait un nom dans l'histoire, vols. 1-9, Paris, 1846-59.
FS	Frankens Stiftungen
GSR	German Studies Review
HEFBKG	Hospitium Ecclesiae: Forschungen zur bremischen Kirchengeschichte
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
JBKG	Jahrbuch für Berlin-Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte
JBKG	Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte
JGGPÖ	Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich
JGNSKG	Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte
JHKGv	Jahrbuch der Hessischen Kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung
JMH	The Journal of Modern History
JSKG	Jahrbuch für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte
JVWKG	Jahrbuch des Vereins für Westfälische Kirchengeschichte
KiO	Kirche im Osten: Studien zur osteuropäischen Kirchengeschichte und Kirchenkunde
KKa	Kirchen- und Ketzer-almanach
LAThW	Litterarischer Anzeiger für christliche Theologie und Wissenschaft überhaupt
LThK	Lutherische Theologie und Kirche

LZRL	Litteraturzeitung für katholische Religionslehrer
MFCZ	Der Menschenfreund: Eine Christliche Zeitschrift
MNeGR	Mittheilungen und Nachrichten für die evangelische Geistlichkeit Russlands
MnGeMBG	Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften
MnGpMBG	Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der protestantischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften
MM	The Missionary Magazine
NBG	Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine
NDB	Neue Deutsche Biographie, vol. 1-26, Berlin, 1953-2015.
NND	Neuer Nekrolog der Deutschen, vols. 1-30, Weimar, 1824-54.
NNRG	Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Reiche Gottes
NSH	The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, vols. 1-13, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1951-69.
OJ	Oldenburger Jahrbuch
PMHB	Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography
PMiZG	Protestantische Monatsblätter für innere Zeitgeschichte
PuN	Pietismus und Neuzeit
RDM	Revue des deux mondes
RE	Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, 2nd ed., vols. 1-18, Leipzig, 1877-88.
RGG	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft, 2nd ed., vols. 1-6, Tübingen, 1927-32.
RP	The Review of Politics
SZG	Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Gemeinnützigkeit
SZRKG	Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte
SLchWG	Sammlungen für Liebhaber christlicher Wahrheit und Gottseligkeit
Sophonizon	Sophonizon, oder unpartheyisch-freymüthige Beyträge zur neuen Geschichte, Gesetzgebung und Statistik der Staaten und Kirchen
ThG	Theologie der Gegenwart
ThSK	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
TTVCH	Transparant: De Tijdschrift van de Vereniging van de Christen-Historici
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie, vols. 1-36, Berlin, 1976-2004.
TZTh	Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie
UF	Unitas Fratrum
VVDTG	Vereinsblatt der verbündeten deutschen Traktat-Gesellschaften
VJThK	Vierteljahrschrift für Theologie und Kirche
ZBKG	Zeitschrift für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte
ZfO	Zeitschrift für Ostforschung
ZglThK	Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche
ZThG	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Gemeinde
ZsT	Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie
ZRGG	Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte
ZVHG	Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte

## Table of Contents

<b>Declarations</b>	3
<b>Abstract</b>	5
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	7
<b>Abbreviations</b>	9
<b>Introduction</b>	13
I.1 Early conceptualisations of the Awakening as an historical era in modern European Protestantism	16
I.2 The social-historical context of the Awakening movement	20
I.3 The historiography of the Awakening movement	22
I.4 Thesis methodology and chapter outline	34
<b>Chapter One: The history of the concept of religious awakening in German Protestantism</b>	37
1.1 Religious ‘awakening’ in sixteenth-century Protestant texts	39
1.2 Religious ‘awakening’ in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Protestant texts	42
1.3 Descriptions of a late eighteenth-century religious malaise in Protestant Germany	51
1.4 Conclusions	58
<b>Chapter Two: Religious Enlightenment and Awakening:</b>	
Historical consciousness and Protestant identity	61
2.1 Interpretations of the Protestant religious Enlightenment	62
2.2 ‘The recent revolution in theology’: Early characterisations of the Protestant religious Enlightenment	73
2.3 ‘The newly awakened religious life’: Early characterisations of the Awakening movement	89
2.4 Conclusions	105
<b>Chapter Three: The Awakening and preaching</b>	107
3.1 The history of the interpretation of the preachers of religious awakening	112
3.2 The ecumenical influence of Protestant and Catholic ‘Erweckungsprediger’	123
3.3 ‘Erweckungsprediger’ in Local Contexts	142
3.4 Conclusions	151
<b>Chapter Four: The Awakening and theology</b>	153
4.1 Universities and the development of German Protestant theology	157
4.2 ‘The modern believing theology’	163

4.3 ‘Modern confessional theologians’ and ‘mediating theologians’	165
4.4 ‘Right Schleiermacherians’	169
4.5 ‘Awakened theology’	175
4.6 ‘Erweckungstheologen’ in local contexts	181
4.7 Conclusions	195
<b>Chapter Five: The Awakening and new religious societies for evangelism</b>	197
5.1 The new evangelistic societies in long-term historical context	199
5.2 The origins and growth of new evangelistic societies	203
5.3 Contemporary interpretations of the evangelistic societies	212
5.4 The British impetus behind the establishment of evangelistic societies in Germany	219
5.5 The rationalisation of evangelism	232
5.6 Conclusions	245
<b>Chapter Six: The Awakening and new religious societies for social reform</b>	247
6.1 Social and economic factors that prompted the creation of new religious societies for social reform	251
6.2 New religious institutions for social reform	256
6.3 Women and the ‘innere Mission’	271
6.4 Conclusion	289
<b>Conclusion</b>	291
<b>Primary Sources</b>	299
<b>Secondary Sources</b>	315

## Introduction

In his autobiography, Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacker, a prominent Reformed preacher and pastor, recounted how as a sixteen-year-old boy in 1812-13 he had witnessed the *Grande Armée* pass through his town in Anhalt (where his father was then serving as the general superintendent of the principality's church) in both its advance into and retreat from Russia. Writing over fifty years after those events, Krummacker reflected on how the reversal of Napoleon's military fortunes had contributed a marked change in German religious life.

The great time of the glorious salvation and uprising of the Fatherland bore the unmistakable marks of a sacred celebration. After having long forgotten Him, the people again honoured 'the old God.' The churches were again filled as they had not been for decades. Again they resounded with songs of praise and thanksgiving. Men whose lips had never before uttered a pious word were time and again heard to say, 'The Lord has helped us'... Little crosses and crucifixes then became the most popular kind of woman's necklace. Everywhere in Germany, a religious tone permeated the people's favourite songs, such as Arndt's 'Der Gott, der Eisen wachsen ließ', and Körner's 'Vater, ich rufe Dich.' Even the bleak and arid rationalism – which had long cast down from almost every pulpit in the land its intellectually bereft, moralistic straw to sparsely attended congregations, and had thereby condemned their members to a deadly spiritual famine – even it felt the breathe of the general pious spirit which hovered in the very air.<sup>1</sup>

Krummacker was far from being the only Protestant religious leader to believe that there had been a significant turning towards religion around 1815. In a speech that he delivered in London in 1851 to a meeting of the British Evangelical Alliance, August Tholuck, a professor of theology at the University of Halle and a member of the consistory of the Protestant State Church in Prussia, spoke about how the Wars of Liberation had stimulated popular interest in religion in Germany. Tholuck commented how it was 'not from the universities, but from the battlegrounds of Waterloo and Leipzig' that the 'divine spark was kindled which was to then spread throughout

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<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacker, *Eine Selbstbiographie* (Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben, 1869), pp. 33-34.

Germany. These were the schools in which our countrymen learned true divinity.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in a lecture that he delivered at the University of Leipzig in 1865, the Lutheran church historian Karl Friedrich August Kohn identified a number of developments, which he held forth as examples of a religious turn in German society.

It is an incontestable fact that since the War of Liberation, a lively faith in Jesus Christ has once again become a force in German society. This is testified to by facts that no one can argue against. I can only briefly mention here our missionary institutions, whose yearly revenues approach those of a small kingdom. I note as well the efforts of the Inner Mission, which through its constituent associations desires to bring saving love to the masses of poor men, women, and children who are estranged from God. This is how the living witness of Christ is today making its mark on the churches. We must further acknowledge the appearance of an extensive body of Christian literature, and most notably, the great reversal that has taken place in academic theology.<sup>3</sup>

More recently, Hartmut Lehmann has also observed how between 1815 and 1830, ‘pious German Protestants, who were mostly middle or lower middle class, labored unceasingly for what they called the building of God’s kingdom. Within a few years, they founded more organizations and established more institutions than in the whole history of German Protestantism from Luther to the end of the eighteenth-century. Their activities far exceeded those of Pietists like Spener, Francke, and Zinzendorf whom they adored.’<sup>4</sup>

This thesis explores the nineteenth-century German Protestant ‘Awakening movement’ in its cultural, intellectual, and social context. German religious historians use the terms ‘*Erweckung*’ and ‘*Erweckungsbewegung*’ to describe a range of interrelated religious developments in modern German Protestantism. The difference between these two descriptive terms lies in the emphasis that they place on the religious developments. ‘*Erweckung*’ connotes the personal, experiential aspect of ‘awakening’,

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<sup>2</sup> August Tholuck, ‘Supplemental Remarks on the State of the Universities in Germany’, in *The Religious Condition of Christendom Exhibited in a Series of Papers, Prepared at the Instance of the British Organization of the Evangelical Alliance, and Read at its Fifth Annual Conference, Held in Freemason’s Hall, London, August 20 to September 3, 1851*, ed. by Edward Steane (London: James Nisbet, 1852), pp. 431-35 (p. 431).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Hartmut Lehmann, ‘The Germans as a Chosen People: Old Testament Themes in German Nationalism’, *GSR*, 14 (1991), 261-73 (pp. 263-64).

i.e. the Christian concept of spiritual conversion from sin and unbelief to faith and obedience to Jesus that is ultimately derived from such New Testament texts as Romans 13:11, Ephesians 5:14, 1 Thessalonians 5:6-8, and Revelation 3:2-4.<sup>5</sup>

‘*Erweckungsbewegung*’ highlights the religious ‘movement’ that was constituted by individuals within churches and new extra-ecclesiastical organisations, whose goal it was to facilitate such religious conversions. The conversions that awakened Protestants primarily desired to see were not from one ecclesiastical confession to another, but rather from religious indifference or religious formalism to a heartfelt and active religious commitment to Christianity.

Kurt Aland has credited the Awakening with bringing ‘a new life to Christianity and the Church everywhere in Germany’. According to Aland, this new life came to ‘all social classes, beginning first with the nobility, then proceeding to the middle class, before reaching down to the simplest members of the congregation, spreading the same way that Pietism had in late-seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries’.<sup>6</sup> In a 1963 study, Erich Beyreuther argued that the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries had witnessed a ‘worldwide, pan-Protestant Awakening’.<sup>7</sup> According to Beyreuther, the Awakening in German-speaking Europe was the result of ‘a preparatory phase in the eighteenth-century, which was followed by an early awakening in the time of Napoleon, before its full development came after 1815’.<sup>8</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette also observed the significance of the Awakening to modern German religious culture. He noted how by 1914 a ‘prodigious burst of life in German Protestantism’ in the nineteenth century had made Protestantism ‘stronger’ everywhere in Europe than it had been in 1815.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Friso Melzer, *Der Christliche Wortschatz der deutschen Sprache: Eine evangelische Darstellung* (Lahr: Verlag Ernst Kaufmann, 1951), pp. 178-79; Wilhelm Rothfuchs, ‘Umkehr und Erweckung in Neuen Testament’, *LThK*, 16 (1992), 103-27 (pp. 103-12); Oliver O’Donovan, *Ethics as Theology, I: Self, World, and Time* (Grand Rapids, MI.: Eerdmans, 2013), pp. 1-17.

<sup>6</sup> Kurt Aland, *Geschichte der Christenheit, II: Von der Reformation bis in die Gegenwart* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1982), p. 302.

<sup>7</sup> Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1977), p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>9</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, II: The Nineteenth Century in Europe, The Protestant and Eastern Churches* (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), pp. 2-11.



## I.1 Early conceptualisations of the Awakening as an historical era in modern European Protestantism

Such developments were not unique to early nineteenth-century German Protestant religious life. Nor did they occur in isolation from Protestants in neighbouring countries. Indeed, the notion of a shared religious ‘awakening’ in European Protestantism is found in the writings of several scholars in the 1840s. Their observations enable us to identify the Awakening movement in Germany as an expression of a wider religious movement that transcended national boundaries.

At the opening of his theological training college for ministers and missionaries in Geneva on 3 October 1844, the celebrated Reformation historian, Jean-Henri Merle d’Aubigné gave an address entitled *Du caractère nécessaire au théologien et au chrétien en general, dans l’époque actuelle* (*The character that is necessary for theologians and for Christians, in general, at the present time*), in which he discussed the recent history of European Protestantism. He predicted that in the future, ‘these last twenty-five to thirty years will be known as the age of the awakening in the nineteenth century’.<sup>10</sup> D’Aubigné described with florid rhetoric how during this period ‘all those to whom the name of Jesus was precious’, had come together and formed a number of ‘armies of the Lord.’ He described how these Protestants displayed an ‘aggressive spirit and were full of action as they went forth in conquest. They advanced into countries that had been laid wasted by the infidelity of the eighteenth century’, and victoriously ‘raised up the banner of the cross’ in those places from which it had disappeared.<sup>11</sup> In exhorting the theology students in his French-speaking Swiss Protestant audience to commit themselves to such evangelistic and missionary endeavours, d’Aubigné enjoined them to imitate the example of awakened German Protestants.

Several twentieth-century Dutch church historians have analysed the influence of the German Awakening movement in the early nineteenth-century Dutch ‘*Opwekking*’

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<sup>10</sup> Anonymous, ‘Jean-Henri Merle d’Aubigne’, *FP*, VII (1857), 338–40; Jean-Merle d’Aubigne, *Du Caractère Nécessaire au Théologien et au Chrétien en Général, dans L’Époque Actuelle* (Paris: Chez Delay, 1845), p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Erich Wenneker, ‘Jean-Henri Merle d’Aubigné’, *BBKL*, V (1993), 1317–21; D’Aubigne, *Du Caractère Nécessaire*, p. 3.

movement.<sup>12</sup> Among those who reported an experience of religious awakening while listening to d'Aubigné's preaching in Brussels was Guillaume de Groen van Prinsterer, a young Dutch aristocrat and secretary to the king, who also held two doctorates, in classics and in law, from the University of Leiden.<sup>13</sup> Three years after d'Aubigné made his speech in Geneva, Groen published *Ongeloof en Revolutie (Unbelief and Revolution)* in 1847. As a basis for his discussion of the relationship between religion, philosophy, and politics, Groen offered a succinct summation of what he believed to be the central tenets of the Christian faith, those 'truths that had always and everywhere been indelibly written on the hearts of all true believers'.<sup>14</sup> According to Groen, these truths were the infallibility of the scriptures, the divinity of Christ, the personhood of the Holy Spirit, the total depravity of human nature caused by original sin, Christ's sacrificial atonement for sins, the imputation of Christ's righteousness to sinners, personal union with Christ through faith, and the spiritual regeneration of the human will through the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit.<sup>15</sup> These truths, he insisted, were recognised by all the Protestant Churches at the Reformation. He alleged that it had been the Enlightenment's 'denial of these truths' that had corrupted 'Christian Europe' and 'initiated the Revolution.'<sup>16</sup> Groen bewailed how Europe had succumbed to hail of 'fiery darts from the evil one [Ephesians 6:16]' during the eighteenth century and had become like 'the man in Jesus' parable in Matthew 12:45 who was possessed by seven evil spirits'.<sup>17</sup> However, he continued, 'during the last thirty years, all of Christendom has witnessed a

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<sup>12</sup> Klaas Groot, 'Die Erweckungsbewegung in Deutschland und ihr literarischer Niederschlag als Gegenstück zu dem Holländischen Réveil' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1932), pp. 146-161; Hommo Reenders, 'Otto Gerhard Heldring und der Réveil: Seine Entwicklung seit seiner Bekehrung (1827) bis zum Zusammenrufen der 'christlichen Freunde', (1845)', in *Erweckung am Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts: Referate einer Tagung an der Freien Universität Amsterdam 26.-29. März 1985*, ed. by Ulrich Gäbler and Peter Schram (Amsterdam: Huisdrukkerij der Vrije Universiteit, 1986), pp. 247-68; Herman Paul, 'Slotbeschouwing: het internationale evangelicalisme in de vroege negentiende eeuw', in *Opwekking van de natie: Het protestantse Réveil in Nederland*, ed. by Fred van Lieburg (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012), pp. 281-88 (pp. 285-86).

<sup>13</sup> Herman Bavinck, 'Voorrede', in Guillaume de Groen van Prinsterer, *Ongeloof en Revolutie: Een Reeks van Historische Voorlezingen* (Kampen: J.H. Bos, 1904), pp. v-xii (p. vii).

<sup>14</sup> Guillaume de Groen van Prinsterer, *Ongeloof en Revolutie: Eene Reeks van Historische Voorlezingen* (Leiden: S. and J. Luchtmans, 1847), p. 177.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-78.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

great reaffirmation of Christianity's essential truths'.<sup>18</sup> Groen hoped that this revival of the 'religion of the gospel' would actuate 'a greater reformation of faith and morals in our day than that which has taken place anytime since the time of the Reformation'.<sup>19</sup>

A year after the publication of *Unbelief and Revolution*, Europe was swept by revolution. The 'March days' in Berlin impressed the University of Bonn law professor August von Bethmann-Hollweg as an act of rebellion against God. In response, he issued in April 1848 a widely published circular letter, in which he urged Protestants throughout Germany to come together for a national day of prayer and corporate repentance. He insisted, in a reference to the Protestant revivals during and after the Napoleonic Wars, that Protestants now needed to ask God's forgiveness for what he called their 'poor stewardship of the costly gift that Germany received after the time of her deep humiliation and great deliverance, that fresh outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon our nation thirty years ago'.<sup>20</sup>

In September 1848 over five hundred Germans gathered in Wittenberg in response to Bethmann-Hollweg's call. Speaking in the Castle Church, adjacent to the graves of Martin Luther and Philipp Melancthon and from the same lectern that Luther had taught from in his university classroom, Bethmann-Hollweg led members from Lutheran, Reformed, Union, and Moravian Churches across Germany in a confession of their common faith in a number of doctrines. These were: the divine inspiration of scripture, the Trinity, the sinfulness of humankind, the righteous wrath of God toward sinners, God's desire that all sinners should repent, the incarnation of God the Son, the efficaciousness of Christ's death as atonement for sin, justification by faith alone, the enduring work of the Holy Spirit in the world in creating and sustaining the Church, the coming Final Judgment, and the immediate need for all to repent and recommit themselves to the work of spreading the gospel.<sup>21</sup> These beliefs formed the doctrinal

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 406-7

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 407.

<sup>20</sup> August von Bethmann-Hollweg, 'Vorschlag einer evangelischen Kirchenversammlung im laufenden Jahre 1848', Appendix 1 in *Die Kirchentage von 1848-1872*, by Werner Kreft (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1994), pp. xvii-xxix (p. xviii).

<sup>21</sup> Christian Friedrich Kling, ed., *Die Verhandlungen der Wittenberger Versammlung für Gründung eines deutschen evangelischen Kirchenbundes im September 1848* (Berlin: Wilhelm Herz, 1848), p. 2.

basis for the *Evangelischer Kirchenbund*, which was also known by the name of its meetings, the *Kirchentag*.

The purpose of this organisation was to promote Protestant solidarity, to spread its theological views within the Protestant churches of Germany, and to show a united front against non-Protestant interest groups in German society (principally, Roman Catholics and secular socialists and communists). This gathering also provided the young Hamburg clergyman, future Prussian Inspector of Prisons and member of the consistory of the Protestant State Church in Prussia, Johann Hinrich Wichern, with a platform to announce his plans for a national home mission board. Wichern announced that the remit of this '*innere Mission*' would be the coordination of the various religiously motivated social reform efforts then being undertaken by Protestant groups throughout Germany.<sup>22</sup>

Subsequent meetings of the *Evangelischer Kirchenbund* attracted an international audience. In 1853, D'Aubigné was invited to address the *Kirchentag* to be held that year in Berlin. He delighted in telling their members how, 'When I arrived in this city in 1817, at the time of the celebration of the jubilee of the Reformation, the church had begun to awaken after a long sleep. Now, in 1853, after thirty-six years, I see its crowning achievement [i.e. the *Evangelischer Kirchenbund*].'<sup>23</sup> Citing the Apostle Paul's admonition to the members of the church in Corinth that they were not to argue about whether as Christians they followed him, Apollos, or Peter, d'Aubigné enjoined his 'awakened' German auditors not to divide themselves from each other based on whether they were Lutherans, Calvinists, Moravians, or members of the United Church. He reminded them that God had awakened and reunited them 'for the purposes of the *Evangelischer Kirchenbund*, for the work of the one, holy, and universal Church'.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Johann Heinrich Wichern, 'Die Rede auf dem Wittenberger Kirchentage', in *Gesammelte Schriften D. Johann Hinrich Wicherns*, III: *Prinzipielles zur Inneren Mission. Die wichtigsten Aufsätze, Vorträge und Abhandlungen über Fragen und Aufgaben der Inneren Mission*, ed. by Friedrich Mahling (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1902), pp. 233-58.

<sup>23</sup> Jean-Henri Merle D'Aubigné, *L'église et la diète de l'église (Kirchentag), Sermon prononcé à Berlin, dans l'église de Friedrichstadt le 25 Septembre 1853* (Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben, 1853), pp. 18, 35-38.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

## I.2 The social-historical context of the Awakening movement

Many early interpreters of the Awakening believed that the movement could be explained almost entirely by religious beliefs. In their portrayals, the Awakening was essentially a conflict over religious ideas. It was conceived of as a theological reaction against atheism, deism, and the ‘rationalistic’ Christianity of the Enlightenment, which the defenders of orthodox Protestantism saw as misguided, or even malevolent. Awakened Protestants rejected the Enlightenment’s optimistic confidence in human reason and cultural progress. Their criticisms of the Enlightenment closely resembled those that were made by contemporary Romantics, many of whom did not share their distinguishing religious beliefs.<sup>25</sup>

Any attempt to understand the Awakening movement must begin by considering the religious convictions of its proponents. Their beliefs profoundly shaped how they understood themselves. They motivated their various endeavours, from university scholarship in Berlin, to social work in the slums of Hamburg, to missionary work in many places faraway from Germany. Yet, the Awakening movement cannot be interpreted solely in reference to theology and piety. Such an approach fails to recognise how the Awakening movement was a product of the same social changes that created modern German society. While awakened Protestants affirmed doctrines that orthodox Protestants had confessed since the Reformation, the most innovative aspects of the Awakening resulted from the new political and economic conditions in the early nineteenth-century. These gave members of the emerging German middle class new freedoms and new means to pursue religiously-motivated goals.

Between 1906 and 1922, Ernst Troeltsch published several studies on the history of Protestantism and its particular relationship to modernity.<sup>26</sup> His reflections help place the Awakening movement into a long-term historical context. According to Troeltsch,

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<sup>25</sup> Wilhelm Lütgert, *Die Religion des deutschen Idealismus und ihr Ende*, II: *Idealismus und Erweckungsbewegung im Kampf und im Bund* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1923), pp. 38-73; Bernard Reardon, *Religion in the Age of Romanticism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 1-28.

<sup>26</sup> Ernst Troeltsch, *Ernst Troeltsch Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, VIII: *Schriften zur Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die moderne Welt (1906-1913)*, ed. by Trutz Rendtorff (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001); Ernst Troeltsch, *Ernst Troeltsch Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, VII: *Protestantisches Christentum und Kirche in der Neuzeit (1906/1909/1922)*, ed. by Volker Drehsen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004).

the history of Protestantism could be divided into two epochs: ‘Old Protestantism’ and ‘New Protestantism’.<sup>27</sup> These two types of Protestantism were distinguished from each other not only by different religious teachings. At a deeper level, they were cultural products of two different sets of assumptions about the basis of legitimacy within European Protestant societies.

In Troeltsch’s analysis, the *Altprotestantismus* that began with Luther and Calvin was continuous with the Western Catholicism of the late-Middle Ages. Medieval Catholicism and Old Protestantism each offered a comprehensive vision of how ‘the state and society, education and scholarship, economics and law, should all be organised and structured according to the supernatural standards of revelation’.<sup>28</sup> The salient characteristic of the magisterial Reformations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the confidence that orthodox Christian beliefs constituted the only legitimate foundation for every sphere of life. Old Protestants assumed that it was appropriate for temporal authorities to endeavour to bring the lives of their people under the *Lex Dei*.

Troeltsch observed how the goal of religious uniformity was gradually abandoned during the Enlightenment and societies became much freer. These goals had proven themselves to be unattainable with the proliferation of parties within Protestantism. They were further tainted by the ghastly number of deaths in the wars of religion. The critical biblical, philosophical, and theological inquiries that were carried out by scholars during the Enlightenment sapped much of the confidence in older systems of Protestant orthodoxy. Governments still provided for the establishment of state churches, but they intervened less and less in religious affairs. By the latter eighteenth century, Protestant societies increasingly tolerated the churches of religious dissenters. As Stuart Woolf has noted in his study of Napoleonic Europe, the bureaucratic administrators of the French Empire advanced social policies that promoted this kind of religious tolerance in almost every Protestant region of Germany.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Christian Albrecht, ‘Altprotestantismus und Neuprotestantismus bei Troeltsch’, *AkAk*, 18 (2015), pp. 26-29.

<sup>28</sup> Troeltsch, *Protestantisches Christentum*, p. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Stuart Woolf, *Napoleon’s Integration of Europe* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 208-10.

Troeltsch described the cultural conditions that the Enlightenment had initiated as *Neuprotestantismus*. New Protestants ‘endorsed the principles that only personal conviction and voluntary association were proper bases for forming religious communities’. They ‘agreed to emancipate secular life and ceased their direct and indirect attempts to use the means of the state to exercise a religious control over it’.<sup>30</sup> For Troeltsch the era of the New Protestantism was one of tremendous religious diversity. It was comprised of ‘those who revived the old orthodoxy, those who wholly gave themselves over to ideas that had never been heard of before, and those who made every conceivable kind of compromise in between these extremes’.<sup>31</sup> This was the cultural milieu within which the Awakening movement emerged.<sup>32</sup>

The appearance of hundreds of Bible, missionary, and religious tract societies in cities, towns, and villages; the proliferation of dozens of new religious journals, periodicals, and publishing houses; and the establishment of new foundations for the care of orphans, the sick and physically handicapped, former prisoners, and others on the margins of society, are all examples of how awakened Protestants used new civic freedoms and financial resources to spread their religious beliefs. These developments in the Protestant religious sphere may be regarded as a manifestation of a general phenomenon of modernity: the diffusion of social agency downwards so that more people had opportunities to participate in the public square according to their beliefs, ideologies, opinions, and values than any had had at any previous time in German history. The Awakening’s expression of Protestantism was one that aspired to be orthodox, even as it was intrinsically modern.

### **I.3 The historiography of the Awakening movement**

Discussion of continental European Protestantism has generally not been well incorporated into the standard English-language histories of evangelicalism; however, there have been several important studies of international evangelical networks that are

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<sup>30</sup> Troeltsch, *Schriften zur Bedeutung des Protestantismus*, p. 225.

<sup>31</sup> Troeltsch, *Protestantisches Christentum*, p. 15.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Kuhn, ‘Krisen und Erweckungen: Anmerkungen zur Modernisierung des Protestantismus’, *SZRKG* 99 (2005), pp. 449-63 (pp.462-63).

written in English. Most notable are two works on the history of Protestantism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by W. R. Ward: *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* and *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789*. Additionally, Nicholas Railton has produced two illuminating studies of certain connections between German and British evangelicals: *No North Sea: The Anglo-German Evangelical Network in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* and *Transnational Evangelicalism: The Case of Friedrich Bialloblotzky, 1799–1869*. Likewise, Timothy C. F. Stunt and Kenneth Stewart have done the same for early nineteenth-century British and Francophone Swiss Protestant relationships with their respective studies, *From Awakening to Secession: Radical Evangelicals in Switzerland and Britain, 1815–1835* and *Restoring the Reformation: British Evangelicalism and the Francophone Réveil, 1816–1849*.

In the final volume of his five-volume *Histoire du Christianisme*, Étienne Chastel included a thirty-page section entitled ‘*Réveil Chrétien et Protestantisme Rétrograde*, Christian Revival and Reactionary Protestantism). He argued that during the early decades of the nineteenth century, ‘the souls’ of Europeans ‘instinctively returned to religious inquiry’. In the Protestant areas of Europe, Protestants re-embraced the doctrines of the Reformation in a reaction against both ‘the negative philosophy of the Enlightenment that had created a vacuum within the human soul’, and ‘the horrific crimes of the Revolution.’<sup>33</sup>

Chastel remarked that those who were involved at this time in establishing new Bible and missionary societies and other ‘new evangelistic endeavours’ were motivated by ‘the same spirit that had animated’ the German Pietist leaders Philipp Jakob Spener and August Hermann Francke, the early Moravian bishop August Spangenberg, the English Quaker leader William Penn, and the leader of the Methodists, John Wesley.<sup>34</sup> Chastel regarded the Kiel pastor Claus Harms, the Dutch poet and legal scholar Willem Bilderdijk, the Danish Lutheran bishop and pioneering Norse philologist and folklorist

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<sup>33</sup> Étienne Chastel, *Histoire du christianisme depuis son origine jusqu’à nos jours*, V: *Age modern* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1883), p. 176.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.



Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig, the Prussian royal court preacher Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacker, the University of Berlin theologian Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, and the Jewish convert to Protestantism and University of Berlin professor of law Friedrich Julius Stahl as some of the foremost intellectual proponents of historic ‘Protestant orthodoxy’ and ‘religious revival’ during the first half of the nineteenth-century.<sup>35</sup>

In 1928 the University of Berlin church historian Walter Wendland contributed a new historiographical entry to the second edition of the German reference work for religious studies, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*. Whereas the first edition of the *RGG* had described the developments in early nineteenth-century European Protestantism ‘nineteenth-century Pietism’, Wendland presented them here as the ‘*Erweckungsbewegung*’.<sup>36</sup> According to Wendland, ‘a new pietistic wave washed over all of Europe’, as a reaction against ‘the rationalistic Christianity’, of the Enlightenment. It introduced a revived expression of the Protestant Reformation into England, Scotland, Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, the Nordic countries, and every region of German-speaking Europe from the Black Forest to the Baltic Coast. Among its distinguishing beliefs, Wendland identified a high regard for the Bible and an emphasis on salvation by grace alone.

Wendland perceived a commonality in the Protestant theology and spirituality promoted by several generations of European and North American Protestant religious leaders. Its religious leaders included Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, and Charles Finney in America; John Wesley, William Wilberforce, and Thomas Chalmers in Britain; Henri-Louis Empaytaz, Adolphe Monod, and Alexandre Vinet in France and French-speaking Switzerland; Guillaume de Groen van Prinsterer, Isaac da Costa, and Abraham Capadose in the Netherlands; Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig in Denmark; Hans Nielsen Hauge in Norway; and August Tholuck, Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacker, and Johann Heinrich Wichern in German-speaking Europe.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 187–90.

<sup>36</sup> Walter Wendland, ‘*Erweckungsbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert*’, *RGG*, II (1928), p. 295.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 297–303.

Erich Beyreuther followed Wendland in this analysis. In his 1963 study on the Awakening movement, Beyreuther interpreted the various religious revivals that had occurred in England, North America, Scotland, ‘in the Reformed Churches of Western Europe: Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands’, Germany, and Scandinavia (in that chronological order) as national instances of a larger modern Protestant Awakening. According to Beyreuther, in each of these national movements, the Protestant beliefs of the Reformation were reaffirmed, alongside new evangelistic ministries and social reform initiatives.<sup>38</sup>

Likewise, in her 1970 *Het protestantse Réveil in Nederland en daarbuiten, 1815–1865* (*The Protestant Revival in the Netherlands and in Foreign Countries*), the University of Amsterdam archivist Marie Elisabeth Kluit interpreted the early nineteenth-century Dutch Protestant revival movement within the larger context of European religious awakenings. So too did the Scottish scholar Alice Wemyss in her 1977 study of the French Protestant revival movement, *Histoire du Réveil: 1790–1849*.<sup>39</sup> The University of Bielefeld professor Hans-Ulrich Wehler and the University of Basel professor Ulrich Gäbler made this same point about the connections and commonalities between European and Atlantic Protestant Awakenings in their respective 1987 and 1992 studies.<sup>40</sup>

The most thorough English-language discussion of the Awakening to date appeared in 1995 in Nicholas Hope’s masterful study *German and Scandinavian Protestantism, 1700-1918*. Hope portrayed those pastors who supported the Awakening as fulfilling a series of emotional and spiritual needs that the preceding generation of clergy had not met. According to Hope, Awakened ministers preached ‘the New Testament message of sinful man’s redemption through Christ’s saving grace and

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<sup>38</sup> Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, p. 1.

<sup>39</sup> M. Elisabeth Kluit, *Het Protestantse Réveil in Nederland en Daarbuiten, 1815–1865* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1970); Alice Wemyss, *Histoire du Réveil, 1790–1849* (Paris: Les Bergers et Les Mages, 1977).

<sup>40</sup> Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte, II: Von der Reformära bis zur industriellen und politischen ‘Deutschen Doppelrevolution’ 1815-1849* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1987), pp. 463-69. Ulrich Gäbler, ‘Die Frage nach der Kirche in ‘pietistischen’ Bewegung des 19. Jahrhunderts’, in *Der Pietismus in seiner europäischen und außereuropäischen Ausstrahlung*, ed. by Johannes Wallmann and Pentti Laasonen (Helsinki, Finland: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1992), pp. 145-60 (p. 145).

converted and reborn hearts’, which was very different from Enlightenment Christian message of ‘moral progress based on mankind’s natural moral predisposition’.<sup>41</sup> Hope examined the Awakening in relation to developments in Protestant preaching, church polity, and religiously-motivated social amelioration efforts. In contrast to how other observers had argued that the end of the Napoleonic Wars had precipitated the Awakening, Hope stressed longer-term, institutional and structural changes to German ecclesiastical life that began in the late-eighteenth-century:

A broad religious awakening in German lands...(c.1780-1850) is inconceivable without the gradual disruption of the communal parish order of dependent relationships in village, township, and home town dating back to medieval times by state legislation reforming the land and guilds in one modernizing state after the other...The scale of this awakening – eighteenth-century popular piety pales in comparison – had, therefore much to do with a reaction against the successful application of enlightened principles in government, in consistories, in university law and theology faculties, and in vicarages.<sup>42</sup>

The Awakening movements have recently been revisited in a collection of essays that was published in 2012 and edited by the Free University of Amsterdam professor of church history Fred van Lieburg, *Opwekking van de natie: Het protestantse Réveil in Nederland (The Awakening of the Nation: Protestant Revival in the Netherlands)*. In his concluding essay, ‘*Het internationale evangelicisme in de vroege negentiende eeuw* (International evangelicalism in the early nineteenth century)’, Herman Paul, a professor of history at the University of Leiden, builds on the work of other Dutch and German scholars to argue that the Evangelical revival in the United Kingdom, the Dutch *Opwekking*, and German *Erweckung* were each national-linguistic types of the archetypical phenomenon of ‘*kersteningsoffensief*’, that is, they were efforts to ‘re-Christianize’ European societies.<sup>43</sup>

This type of conceptualization of awakenings as ‘Christianization offensives’ against secularization and de-Christianization in Protestant cultural contexts draws upon

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<sup>41</sup> Nicholas Hope, *German and Scandinavian Protestantism, 1700-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 354.

<sup>42</sup> Hope, *German and Scandinavian Protestantism*, p. 364.

<sup>43</sup> Paul, ‘Het internationale evangelicisme’, pp. 285–86.

the work of Harmut Lehmann. He has argued that the religious and cultural history of Europe from the French Revolution to the end of the Second World War can be understood as a series of waves of secularization followed by waves of Christian religious revival: 1789 to 1815 (secularization); 1815 to 1848 (revival); 1848 to 1878 (secularization); 1878 to 1918 (revival); and 1918 to 1945 (secularization).<sup>44</sup> This schematisation redresses what Lehmann has argued elsewhere is a conceptual flaw in much of the most recent German scholarship on the Awakening.

As German church historians have transformed the notion of *Erweckungsbewegung* into a specific period of Protestant church history that is located in the early nineteenth century, they fail to see that *Erweckung*, spiritual rebirth, is a typological element of Christianity that can be found in many other centuries, most importantly as religious renewal within Protestant Christianity, as for example in Pietism and Methodism. Therefore if we use the term *Erweckung*, we should take a typological approach, not a chronological approach. Only if we take a typological approach are we able to contrast and compare the various expressions of *Erweckung*, of revival movements, and of religious awakenings. With certain variations the message in all of these movements was the same: To wake up the sleepers to stop them from sinning; to shake off spiritual numbness and religious indifference; to share a new religious life in a community of born-again Christians; and to go out and preach God's word to those still asleep.<sup>45</sup>

The English-language historiography of evangelicalism would benefit from more engagement with the works of continental European scholars. It is this author's hope that this study of the German Awakening may help to promote such engagement. Let us now continue our historiographical survey by turning to the German-language scholarship on the Awakening movement.

There is a sizable literature on regionally prominent figures, organisations, and institutions that illustrates how the Awakening movement appeared in particular

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<sup>44</sup> Hartmut Lehmann, *Säkularisierung: der Europäische Sonderweg in Sachen Religion* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004), pp. 107-08. On the distinction between secularization and 'de-Christianisation' see Hans Georg Schenk, *Die Entchristlichung Europas (1750–1900), Ein Vortrag an der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel* (Basel: Helbing and Lichtenhahn, 1977).

<sup>45</sup> Hartmut Lehmann, 'Erweckungsbewegung as Religious Experience or Historiographical Construct: The Case of Ludwig Hofacker', in *Pietism, Revivalism, and Modernity, 1650-1850*, ed. by Fred von Lieburg and Daniel Lindmark (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), pp. 274-85 (p. 285).

localities all throughout Germany.<sup>46</sup> This is a reflection of how the Awakening did not have one special geographic centre comparable to what Wittenberg, Halle, and Herrnhut

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<sup>46</sup> **Baden:** Gerhard Schwinge, *Die Erweckung in Baden im 19. Jahrhundert: Vorträge und Aufsätze aus dem Henhöfer-Jahr 1989* (Karlsruhe: Verlag Evangelischer Pressenverband für Baden, 1990); **Bavaria:** Gottfried Thomasius, *Das Widererwachen des evangelischen Lebens in der lutherischen Kirche Bayerns: Ein Stück süddeutscher Kirchengeschichte, 1800-1840* (Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1867); Matthias Simon, *Die evangel.-luth. Kirche in Bayern im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Claudius Verlag, 1961), pp. 22-30; **Berlin:** Walter Wendland, 'Studien zur Erweckungsbewegung in Berlin (1810-1830)', *JBKG*, 19 (1924), pp. 5-77; Walter Wendland, *Siebenhundert Jahre Kirchengeschichte Berlins* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1930), pp. 215-38; Johannes Althausen, 'Kirchliche Gesellschaften in Berlin 1810 bis 1830: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Erweckungsbewegung und des Laienapostolats in den evangelischen Kirchen des 19. Jahrhunderts', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Halle-Wittenberg, 1965); Hans-Dietrich Looock, 'Vom 'Kirchenwesen' zur Landeskirche: Das Zeitalter der Reformen und der Konfessionsunion (1798 bis 1840)', in *Tausend Jahre Kirche in Berlin-Brandenburg*, ed. by Gerd Heinrich (Berlin: Wichern Verlag, 1999), pp. 363-427 (pp. 406-412); **Brandenburg:** Ludwig Lehmann, *Kirchengeschichte der Mark Brandenburg von 1818 bis 1932* (Berlin: Kranz-Verlag des Christlichen Zeitschriftenvereins, 1936), pp. 17-77; **Bremen:** Karl H. Schwebel, 'Die Bremische Evangelische Kirche 1800-1918', in *Bremische Kirchengeschichte im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Andreas Röpcke (Bremen: Verlag H.M. Hauschild, 1994), pp. 15-173 (pp. 68-76, pp.147-62); Jobst Reller, 'Die frühe Erweckungsbewegung in den Herzogtümern Bremen-Verden im Spiegel der Publizistik', *JGNSKG*, 104 (2006), pp. 169-225; **Darmstadt and Hesse:** Hans-Martin Wolf, 'Die Darmstädter Erweckung, eine frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Entwicklung', *JHKGv*, 20 (1969) pp. 125-88; A. Ludwig Clotz, 'Wilhelm Bichmann und die Erweckungsbewegung in Hessen', *JHKGv*, 44 (1993), pp. 53-76; Klaus Engelbrecht, 'Pietismus und Orthodoxie: Metropolitan Wilhelm Vilmar (1804-1884) und die Erweckungsbewegung in Kurhessen seit 1833', in *Ich will hintreten zum Altar Gottes: Festschrift für Propst em. Hans-Heinrich Salzmann*, ed. by Johannes Junker and Michael Salzmann (Neuendettelsau: Freimund Verlag, 2003), pp. 249-56; Gerhard Lehmann, 'Die Erweckungs- und Gemeinschaftsbewegung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts im Dilltal und im hessischen Hinterland', *JHKGv*, 57 (2006), pp. 91-111; **East Prussia:** Walter Hubatsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Ostpreussens*, I (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1968), pp. 257-66, pp. 317-19; **German settlements in the Russian Empire:** Wilhelm Kahle, 'Erweckung im Protestantismus Ostmittel- und Osteuropas sowie der asiatischen Teile des Russischen Reiches', *KiO*, 37 (1994), pp. 11-34; **Göttingen:** Albrecht Saathoff, *Aus Göttingens Kirchengeschichte: Festschrift zur 400 jährigen Gedächtnisfeier der Reformation am 21. October 1929* (Göttingen: Verlag Göttinger Gemeindeblatts, 1929), pp. 209-19; **Hamburg:** Ingrid Lahrsen, 'Beiträge zum kirchlichen und religiösen Leben Hamburgs zur Zeit der Erweckungsbewegung', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hamburg, 1957); Inge Mager, 'Weibliche Theologie im Horizont der Hamburger Erweckung: Amalie Sievekind (1794-1859) and Elise Averdick (1808-1907)', in *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte in Aufsätzen*, IV, ed. by Inge Mager (Hamburg: Hamburg University Press, 2013), pp. 339-76; **Lower Saxony:** Johannes Meyer, *Kirchengeschichte Niedersachsens* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1939), pp. 188-201; Rolf Schäfer, 'Skizzen aus der Oldenburger Erweckungsbewegung', *OJ*, 85 (1985), pp. 77-88; Hansjörg Bräumer, 'August von Arnswaldt – der hannoversche Adel und die lutherische Erweckungsbewegung', *JGNSKG*, 84 (1986), pp. 51-62; Wolfgang Bienert, *Im Zeichen des Kreuzes Christi: Eigenart und Bedeutung der Hermannsburger Erweckungsbewegung* (Groß Oesingen: Verlag der Lutherischen Buchhndlung Heinrich Harms, 1986); Hans-Walter Krumwiede, *Kirchengeschichte Niedersachsens*, II (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1996), pp. 297-323; **Pomerania:** Hellmuth Heyden, *Kirchengeschichte Pommerns*, II (Cologne: Verlagsgesellschaft Rudolf Müller, 1957), pp. 176-212; **Prussia:** Alfred Adam 'Erweckungsbewegung und Romantik im Aufbau der preußischen Landeskirche', in *Sprache und Dogma: Untersuchungen zu Grundproblemen der Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by Gerhard Ruhbach (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1969), pp. 208-19; Rudolf Mau, ed. *Protestantismus in Preußen: Lebensbilder aus seiner Geschichte*, II (Frankfurt: Hansisches Druck- und -Verlagshaus, 2009), pp. 173-302; **the Rhineland:** Justus Hashagen, *Der rheinische Protestantismus und die Entwicklung der*

were for early Lutheranism, Pietism, and Moravianism. Rather, the Awakening movement began independently in many different places and it lacked the overall coordination of a centralised hierarchy. There were many regionally influential religious leaders among the clergy and laity, in the churches and universities, and among the nobility and middle class, who more or less simultaneously began to promote Awakened religiosity.

The University of Bochum professor of history Lucian Hölscher has provided a succinct summary of this literature in his fascinating 2005 study of the history of Protestant piety. Hölscher identifies some of the leading figures of the movement: In Berlin these were the Moravian Pastor Johannes Jänicke (1748-1827), Baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz (1757-1843), and Professor August Neander (1789-1850, a distant relative of Moses Mendelssohn, who was known as David Mendel before his conversion to Christianity); in Pomerania, the Junker aristocrats Adolf von Thadden-Trieglaff (1796-1882, who would exert considerable religious influence upon Otto von Bismarck), Ernst von Senfft-Pilsach (1795-1882), and the brothers Otto (1801-49), Ernst Ludwig (1795-

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*rheinischen Kultur* (Essen: G.D. Baedeker, 1924), pp. 91-100; Wilhelm Busch, *Die von Herzen dir nachwandeln: Gestalten des rheinischen-westfälischen Pietismus* (Berlin: Furche-Verlag, 1938), pp. 57-94, pp. 115-39; Jakob Schmitt, *Die Gnade bricht durch: Aus der Geschichte der Erweckungsbewegung im Siegerland, in Wittgenstein und den angrenzenden Gebieten* (Gießen: Brunnen Verlag, 1958), pp. 219-311; Bernhard H. Bonkhoff, 'Von der Erweckungsbewegung zur Gemeinschaftsbewegung', *BPKG*, 55 (1988), 21-33; Christian Peters, 'Minden-Ravensberg und die Wurzeln der Osnabrücker Erweckung', *JGNSKG*, 102 (2004), pp. 81-113; Gustav Adolf Benrath, 'Die Erweckungsbewegung in der Pfalz 1818-1871', *BPKG*, 73 (2006), pp. 37-64; **Saxony:** Franz Blanckmeister, *Sächsische Kirchengeschichte* (Dresden: Verlag von Franz Sturm, 1899), pp. 379-92; Karl Hennig, 'Die sächsische Erweckungsbewegung im Anfänge des 19. Jahrhunderts', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leipzig, 1928); **Schleswig-Holstein:** Lorenz Hein, 'Claus Harms Leben und Werk', in *Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte*, V, ed. by Hans Joachim Ramm and Lorenz Hein (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1989), pp. 77-124; **Silesia:** Hellmut Eberlein, *Schlesische Kirchengeschichte* (Goslar: Verlag der schles. evangel. Zentralstelle, 1952), 146-51; Peter Maser, 'Schlesiens Anteil an der Erweckungsbewegung des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts', *JSKG*, 63 (1984), pp. 67-95; **Switzerland:** Rudolf Pfister, *Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz*, III (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1985), pp. 171-249; **Württemberg:** Heinrich Hermelink, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Württemberg von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Rainer Wunderlich Verlag, 1949), pp. 343-73; Gerhard Schäfer, ed., *Lesebuch zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Landeskirche in Württemberg*, III: *Große Hoffnungen – kleine Schritte im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Quell Verlag, 1989), pp. 88-169; Eberhard Fritz, 'Die Konsolidierung des württembergischen Pietismus im frühen 19. Jahrhundert', *BWKG*, 109 (2009), pp. 363-92; Hermann Ehmer, 'Die Aneignung des württembergischen Pietismus durch die Erweckungsbewegung', in *Religiöse Erfahrung und wissenschaftliche Theologie: Festschrift für Ulrich Köpf zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Albrecht Beutel and Reinhold Rieger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 81-100.

1877), and Leopold von Gerlach (1790-1861); in Thuringia, Professor August Tholuck (1799-1877), who taught for over 50 years at the University of Halle; in Bavaria, the Lutheran Pastor Wilhelm Löhe (1808-72) and the Reformed Pastor and Professor Christian Krafft (1784-1845); in Württemberg, the founder of the separatist religious community at Korntal, Gottlieb Wilhelm Hoffmann (1771-1846), the Lutheran Pastor Ludwig Hofacker (1798-1828), and the Lutheran Pastor and missionary pioneer Christian Blumhardt (1779-1838); in Baden, the Lutheran Pastor (and former Roman Catholic priest) Aloys Henhöfer (1789-1862); in Hesse, the Gymnasium director August Vilmar (1800-68) and his brother, the Lutheran Pastor Wilhelm Vilmar (1804-1884); in Wuppertal, the Reformed Pastors Gottfried Daniel Krummacher (1774-1837) and his nephew Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher (1796-1868); in Minden-Ravensberg the Lutheran Pastor Johann Heinrich Volkening (1796-1877); in Bremen, the Reformed Pastor Gottfried Menken (1768-1831); in Hannover, the author August von Arnswaldt (1798-1855) and the Lutheran Pastors Philipp Spitta (1801-1859) and Adolf Petri (1803-1873); in Lüneburg, the Lutheran Pastor Ludwig Harms (1808-1865); and in Hamburg, the Lutheran Pastor Johann Wilhelm Rautenberg (1791-1865) and the social reformer Johann Heinrich Wichern (1808-81).<sup>47</sup> To be sure, Hölscher's list is far from an exhaustive catalogue of all of the religious leaders of the Awakening movement, and, of course, he did not intend it to be such. But it conveys the breadth of the Awakening and the diverse backgrounds of its major figures.

The existing scholarship on the Awakening movement has been dominated by a regional focus to such an extent that there have only been three major attempts to interpret the Awakening movement as a German national phenomenon. The first of these was Ludwig Tiesmeyer's, *Die Erweckungsbewegung in Deutschland während des 19. Jahrhunderts*. This work totals 1,460 pages and was published in sixteen parts between 1902 and 1912. Each installment was the history of the Awakening in a different region of Germany, e.g. volume one was about the Awakening in Minden-Ravensberg and Lippe; volume two, Siegerland, Dillthal, and Homburg; volume three,

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<sup>47</sup> Lucian Hölscher, *Geschichte der protestantischen Frömmigkeit in Deutschland* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 347-48.

Wuppertal; volume four, Baden. Thus, the work was more of an historical encyclopedia of the Awakening, albeit one that is rich in detail, than it was a work of analytical scholarship. Tiesmeyer was not a trained historian but a Reformed pastor in Bremen. His life's work had not been academic, but was rather the establishment of Sunday schools and other evangelistic work among urban children. He wrote his history of the Awakening during his retirement as a means of contributing to the evangelistic work that had occupied most of his life.

Tiesmeyer intended his history the Awakening to be an edifying piece of religious literature for a popular audience. He presupposed that there was a generally cyclical pattern to the history of Christianity. For him, the Church began with a vivifying outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament period, but it failed to maintain the purity of the original state. Its subsequent history was characterized by successive periods of spiritual decline, from which the Church was saved by fresh works of the Holy Spirit in religious awakenings, which restored the Church to its original New Testament doctrines and ethos, until a new period of decline set in.<sup>48</sup> In this way, the history of the Church in Tiesmeyer's view conformed to the pattern of the history of Israel that is reported by Book of Judges. Albert Bruckner followed a similar line of interpretation in his 1909 study, *Erweckungsbewegungen: Ihre Geschichte und ihre Frucht für die christliche Kirche*. Bruckner argued that the ancient Montanists, the Waldensians, English Quakers, German Pietists, Zinzendorf's Moravians, Wesley's Methodists, the proponents of the nineteenth-century German Awakening, and then the founders of the Salvation Army in England, were all each examples of how the Holy Spirit had worked to renew the Church through awakenings.<sup>49</sup>

While some may find these theologically speculative interpretations of history persuasive, they are, of course, methodologically flawed as works of academic historical scholarship. The direct attribution of a specific historical development to the activity of God is a claim that cannot be demonstrated historically. However, their basic view of

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<sup>48</sup> Ludwig Tiesmeyer, *Die Erweckungsbewegung in Deutschland während des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, I: *Minden-Ravensberg und Lippe* (Kassel: Ernst Röttger Verlag, 1902), pp. 5-18.

<sup>49</sup> Albert Bruckner, *Erweckungsbewegungen: Ihre Geschichte und ihre Frucht für die christliche Kirche* (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1909).



history as a kind of theatre of the works of God should not be dismissed categorically, as that too would require an equal degree of omniscience. The epistemological limitations of historical scholarship necessitate an agnostic stance towards all such claims as to the ultimate meaning of historical events.

The University of Bonn Old Testament Professor Martin Noth helpfully discussed this interpretive issue in his 1950 paradigm-shifting work, *Geschichte Israels*. Noth suggested that whenever historians study a topic with an inherently religious dimension to it, it is ‘the historian’s task to relentlessly search everywhere for possibilities for comparison and explanation’, in order to better comprehend the phenomena within the limits of historical knowledge. But as a caveat to this principle of operational agnosticism, Noth cautioned that ‘the historian must yet ever remain aware of the presence of the element of the ‘unhistorical’ in history, that is, of that element in history that cannot be explained by history.’<sup>50</sup> While religious awakenings can be studied historically like any other topic, any attempt to assess the veracity of their peculiar religious claims necessarily involves an exercise of speculative theology, one that lies outside the scope of this thesis.

The next comprehensive study of the Awakening was entitled, *Die Erweckungsbewegung in Deutschland: Studien zur Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und ersten Ausbreitung in Deutschland*. It was published by Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach in 1957, the year after his Habilitation at the University of Erlangen. Like Tiesmeyer’s study, each of Kantzenbach’s chapters focuses on the history of the Awakening in various regions of Germany. His chapters are entitled: ‘The Awakening in southern Germany; The Awakening in Berlin; north-eastern Germany; central Germany; south-western Germany; the lower Rhine; and north-western Germany.’

Kantzenbach argued that although the Awakening had much in common with Pietism, the two movements had fundamentally different orientations. In its late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century context, Pietism was ecclesiastically inward-looking in its primary concern for those who were already Christians. According to

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<sup>50</sup> Martin Noth, *Geschichte Israels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1950), p. 10.

Kantzenbach, the Awakening was ‘antithetical to the Enlightenment and Idealism’ and outward-looking in its efforts to resist what it considered to be alien influences that had come into the Church. Kantzenbach saw in the Awakening’s renewed emphasis on the ‘doctrines of sin and salvation through faith in Christ’, ‘the new birth’, and the experience of conversion, ‘*der Gnadendurchbruch*’, a religious analogue to the emphasis that cultural Romanticism had placed on ‘the passions’.<sup>51</sup> Kantzenbach’s professor at Erlangen, Wilhelm Maurer, endorsed his study as one that ‘expresses to the members of the Lutheran Church today the gratitude that they should have for the Fathers of Pietism in the nineteenth century, the men of the Awakening movement’. Maurer claimed that it was a testimonial of how, ‘in the past God has miraculously preserved our Church from being entirely engulfed in the whirlpool of the Enlightenment, indifferentism, and atheism’.<sup>52</sup>

In 2000, the University of Mainz professor Gustav Adolf Benrath contributed a 116-page essay entitled ‘Die Erweckung innerhalb der deutschen Landeskirchen, 1815-1888: Ein Überblick’, to the third volume of the *Geschichte des Pietismus*.<sup>53</sup> This series was commissioned by the *Historische Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus*, an academic body within the *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland*. It is the most up-to-date and comprehensive study of post-Reformation European and North American Protestant revival and renewal movements. Benrath examines the development of Awakened Protestantism in 29 different cities and territories following after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. He notes how Tiesmeyer’s work has yet to be surpassed in terms of its sheer breadth and depth of information. He concurs with Kantzenbach regarding how a shift in religious concern distinguishes the Pietist and Awakening movements. Additionally, Benrath argues that the foundation of new religious organizations such as overseas and home missionary societies during the Awakening were unprecedented developments in German religious history. Furthermore, he notes that the re-emergence

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<sup>51</sup> Friedrich Kantzenbach, *Die Erweckungsbewegung: Studien zur Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und ersten Ausbreitung in Deutschland* (Neuendettelsau: Freimund Verlag, 1957), pp. 17-18.

<sup>52</sup> Maurer’s comments are found on the dustjacket of the first edition.

<sup>53</sup> Gustav Adolf Benrath, ‘Die Erweckung innerhalb der deutschen Landeskirchen, 1815-1888: Ein Überblick’, in *Geschichte des Pietismus*, III: 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, ed. by Ulrich Gäbler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 2000), pp. 155-271.

of strong Lutheran-Reformed confessional differences in German Protestantism after 1830 was another significant result of the Awakening.

#### **I.4 Thesis methodology and chapter outline**

Rather than taking the same approach as Tiesmeyer, Kantzenbach, and Benrath and examining the Awakening movement through each of its regional manifestations, this thesis instead adopts a topical approach. It analyses how the Awakening movement appeared within four distinct areas of Protestant religious life: preaching, academic theology, organised evangelism, and caritative initiatives. Considering these different thematic facets of the Awakening one after the other better enables us to understand how the movement consisted of a series of concurrent and interrelated attempts to create an orthodox expression of Protestantism within a modern social and cultural context. This analysis is presented in three parts.

Part one discusses Awakened Protestants' religious identity in relation to the history of the German Protestant tradition. Chapter one asks a question that is basic to understanding those who constituted the Awakening movement: what did they mean when they spoke about religious awakening? Such a concept exists in many global religious traditions, but what specific meaning did it have within the history of German Protestantism? To answer this question, this chapter employs the methodological approach that the intellectual historian Reinhart Koselleck developed to study how the meaning of concepts evolves over time (*Begriffsgeschichte*). Through this approach, we can establish the field of meaning that Protestants created for the concept of 'awakening' between the Reformation and the Awakening through their use of the terms '*Erweckung*' and '*erwecken*.' Chapter two analyses how the Awakening movement was animated by a particular understanding of the immediately preceding period of the Enlightenment. Awakened Protestants were characterised by their hostile stance towards the Enlightenment and the beliefs of those who called themselves 'Rationalists' to such a significant degree that it is first necessary to consider what they were reacting against before we can proceed to the study of the Awakening itself. In doing so, we will see the

role that a particular kind of historical consciousness played in the formation of Awakened religious identity.<sup>54</sup>

Part two discusses the beliefs of the Awakening movement through the sermons and scholarship of the so-called preachers (chapter three) and theologians (chapter four) of the Awakening, the '*Erweckungsprediger*' and '*Erweckungstheologen*'.

Part three discusses how Awakened Protestants founded new organisations and institutions to spread their beliefs. Chapter five considers the evangelistic activities of several types of religious voluntary societies: societies for the distribution of Bibles and religious literature and societies to support the work of missionaries among the historically non-Christian peoples in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific and among the Jewish people in Europe. Chapter six examines the social work of Awakened Protestants, including the creation of new Protestant religious orders, first of deaconesses and then latterly, of deacons. Their concerns for the spiritual welfare of certain vulnerable groups within society, e.g. orphans, the mentally and physically disabled, and prisoners, prompted efforts to ameliorate their physical needs.

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<sup>54</sup> Cf. Jan Carsten Schnurr, 'Geschichtsdeutung im Zeichen des Reiches Gottes: Historiographie- und begriffsgeschichtliche Anmerkungen zur Geschichtsliteratur der protestantischen Erweckungsbewegung im Vormärz', *HZ*, 291 (2010), pp. 353-83.



## Chapter One: The history of the Concept of religious awakening in German Protestantism

### Introduction

The concept of religious ‘awakening’ was central to the identity of certain German Protestants in the early nineteenth century. However, those Protestants whose activities constituted the Awakening movement did not create this concept. Quite to the contrary, their notions of religious awakening came from how the words ‘*Erweckung*’, ‘*erwecken*’, and ‘*erweckt*’ had been used in a wide range of Protestant texts during the preceding three-hundred years. For this reason, in order to establish its meaning in an early nineteenth-century German Protestant context, it is essential to first analyse how the concept of ‘awakening’ had developed over time through the usage of the aforementioned words. As a model for performing this type of historical lexicological analysis, this chapter follows the method that was pioneered by the contributors to the eight-volume *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (*Basic Concepts in History: A Historical Dictionary of Political and Social Language in Germany*).

This work was completed between 1972 and 1997 under the editorial direction of Reinhart Koselleck. The distinguished University of Bielefeld historian was well-known for his thesis that German society’s transition to modernity could be best understood through the linguistic and semantic analysis of how the meanings of 123 ‘basic political and social concepts’ had changed between 1750 and 1850. Koselleck argued that developments in how individuals began to think about society and politics in distinctly modern ways could be demonstrated by tracking how the meanings of such basic political and social concepts such as ‘administration’, ‘authority’, ‘democracy’, ‘entrepreneur’, ‘government’, ‘people’, ‘politics’, ‘revolution’, ‘rights’, ‘the state’, ‘tolerance’, and ‘worker’ had each evolved over the course of this period.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Reinhardt Koselleck, ‘Einleitung’, in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, I, ed. by Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhardt Koselleck (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1972), pp. xiii-xxvii.

According to Koselleck, transformations of the referent ideas of these words provided examples of how a distinctly modern mentality emerged in Germany.<sup>56</sup> As one commentator has summarised this research, the aims of the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*'s lengthy essays were to present 'reliable information about past uses in German of political and social concepts by assembling systematically extensive citations from original sources.'<sup>57</sup> This evidence showed 'the ways in which language both shaped and registered the processes of change that transformed every area of German political and social life.'<sup>58</sup> Significantly, this historical lexicological approach provided Koselleck and his colleagues with a series of fixed variables (i.e. single words) that they could then use to control their study of how the meanings of political and social concepts changed and remained the same over time. This scientific method enabled Koselleck to explain modernity in ways that made it a less nebulous phenomenon.

This manner of analysing the meanings of concepts is also especially well-suited for ascertaining what religious 'awakening' meant in an early nineteenth-century German Protestant context. In general, religious awakenings are notoriously difficult to define because numerous religious movements across time and space have been described as such. In view of many apparent similarities between awakenings in Christian and in other religious contexts, some have concluded that awakenings are simply a generic phenomenon of religion. For example, one recent scholar of Buddhism and Hinduism has likened certain nineteenth century religious revivals in these traditions as South Asian equivalents of the Protestant Reformation.<sup>59</sup> Two scholars of modern Judaism and Islam have similarly claimed that Hasidism and Wahhabism were products of religious revivals that had many commonalities with contemporary eighteenth-century

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<sup>56</sup> Keith Tribe, 'The Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe Project: From History of Ideas to Conceptual History. A Review Article', *CSSH*, 31 (1989), pp. 180-84 (pp. 180-81).

<sup>57</sup> Melvin Richter, 'Appreciating a Contemporary Classic: The *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* and Future Scholarship', in *The Meaning of Historical Terms and Concepts: New Studies on Begriffsgeschichte*, ed. by Hartmut Lehmann and Melvin Richter (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 1996), p. 10.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>59</sup> Torkel Brekke, *Makers of Modern Indian Religion in the Late Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 41.

awakenings in British and North American Protestantism.<sup>60</sup> These kinds of generalisations and ambiguities in the study of religious awakenings can be avoided by concentrating on how the family of words for ‘awakening’ were used within the texts of a particular religious tradition.

This chapter analyses the specific meaning of the concept of religious ‘awakening’ within German Protestantism. It establishes the origins of this concept in the early writings of Martin Luther. Next, it tracks how the meaning of awakening developed further through subsequent sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth-century texts. It then considers how the concept of awakening changed through what many contemporary commentators described as a period of momentous religious turmoil and transition in the second-half of the eighteenth century. These observations lay a foundation that enables the following chapter to examine more precisely how the Awakening movement in the early nineteenth-century religious was conceived of as particular response to the kind of Christianity that had been produced by the Protestant religious Enlightenment.

### **1.1 Religious ‘awakening’ in sixteenth-century Protestant texts**

In August 1520, Martin Luther published his *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of Germany Regarding the Improvement of the Christian Estate*, the first of this famous ‘Three Treatises’ of this year. In discussing the need for religious reforms, Luther claimed that the state of Christianity among the German-speaking people of Europe was then so extraordinarily dire, that it was not impudent of him to presume to address all the temporal authorities of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation on the matter. ‘The distress and burdens which weigh down all the estates of Christendom, and especially those in the German lands, have not moved only me, but everyone, to cry

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<sup>60</sup> Arthur Green, ‘Early Hasidism: Some Old/New Questions’, in *Hasidism Reappraised*, ed. by Ada Rapoport-Albert (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1996), pp. 441-46 (p. 443); Natana J. DeLong-Bas, *Wahhabi Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 9.



out for help time after time. They have compelled me now to cry out and ask whether God might inspire someone to come to the aid of our suffering nation.’<sup>61</sup>

In his appeal to these secular rulers, Luther proceeded to explain how ‘the spiritual city of Christ’ in Germany at this time had been set on fire by ‘enemies from hell’ and how therefore, it was imperative for someone to ‘awaken Christians’ to this state of affairs so that their city might be saved.<sup>62</sup> Such language demonstrates how Luther believed that German society as a whole was in need of a religious awakening. In other texts, Luther spoke about the meaning of religious awakening on a personal level. He taught that individuals were awakened from ignorance and unbelief to faith in Jesus through receiving the sacraments and meditating on the Bible.

Luther published his tract on *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* one month after publishing his *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility*. The primary target of Luther’s polemic in this pamphlet was late-medieval sacramental theology. Constructing a metaphor out of the sacred history of Israel, Luther charged that church leaders had falsely instructed their people when they taught that salvation depended upon the acquisition of merits through being baptised and by partaking in the Lord’s Supper. In so doing, he fulminated that they had carried their people ‘away from their own land’, that being the gospel of grace, ‘and into a Babylonian captivity’, the notion that salvation was earned by human efforts.<sup>63</sup> Because ‘godless teachers’ had ‘concealed’ these truths and ‘extinguished the faith’ of many, Luther reiterated that godly priests must announce the essential graciousness of God’s gifts in baptism and communion so that the faith of those who received these sacraments might be ‘awakened’, ‘more effectively awakened’, and ‘continually awakened.’<sup>64</sup>

Likewise, when he explained the meaning of the commandment to keep the Sabbath day holy in his 1529 *Large Catechism*, Luther warned catechumens that as long as they lived in this world they remained ‘in the kingdom of the devil’, and that Satan

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<sup>61</sup> Martin Luther, ‘An den Christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des Christlichen standes besserung’, WA, VI (1888), pp. 381-469 (p. 405).

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 414.

<sup>63</sup> Martin Luther, ‘De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae’, WA, VI (1888), pp. 484-573 (p. 520).

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., pp. 524-28.

‘never rests from attempting to kindle in your hearts unbelief and evil thoughts towards the commands of God.’<sup>65</sup> In light of this cosmic spiritual battle, Luther adjured his students to ‘perpetually keep the Word of God in your hearts, on your lips, and in your ears’, because ‘whenever it is contemplated, listened to, and treated with all due seriousness, it never fails to produce fruit. It always awakens new understanding, delight, and devotion, and it brings forth a pure heart and pure thoughts.’<sup>66</sup>

Early German Protestant confessions of faith further developed the meaning of the concept of religious awakening. In 1530, the ‘Praeceptor Germaniae’, Philipp Melancthon, wrote in the Augsburg Confession that the sacraments were more than just ‘the external signs whereby one might recognise Christians’, but were, in addition to this, the ‘signs and witnesses of God’s will towards us, which were given to awaken and strengthen our faith.’<sup>67</sup> A generation later, one of Melancthon’s former students and lodgers, Zacharias Ursinus, authored the Heidelberg Catechism in 1563. In his lengthy commentary on the symbol of the Reformed Church in Germany, Ursinus explained how God’s self-revelation in the first table of the Decalogue ‘awakens Christians to obedience’, and how Christ himself ‘awakened and sent forth the prophets, apostles, teachers, and other ministers of the Church and still confers the gifts that his servants need for their callings.’<sup>68</sup>

In 1577, Jakob Andreä and Martin Chemnitz (along with several others) produced the *Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord* as an effort to resolve the disagreements between different factions of Luther’s theological progeny that Melancthon had called the *rabies theologorum*, ‘the madness of the theologians.’ In their discussion of the contentious issue of the freedom of the will, these leading second-generation Lutheran theologians concluded that mankind had lost their desire for

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<sup>65</sup> Martin Luther, ‘Der Grosse Katechismus’, in *Die Symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, deutsch und lateinisch*, ed. by Johann Tobias Müller (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1890), pp. 373-512 (p. 405).

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 405.

<sup>67</sup> Philipp Melancthon, ‘Die Augsburgische Confession oder Bekenntnis des Glaubens etlicher Fürsten und Städte, überantwortet Kais. Majestät zu Augsburg’, in *Die Symbolischen Bücher*, pp. 33-70 (p. 41).

<sup>68</sup> Zacharias Ursinus, *Corpus doctrinae orthodoxae sive, catecheticae explicationum*, ed. by David Pareus (Geneva, 1616), p. 206, p. 633.

fellowship with God because of how Adam and Eve had fallen into sin. ‘Man resists the word of God and the will of God until God awakens him from the death of sin, enlightens and renews him.’<sup>69</sup>

These Protestant Church Fathers used the German words for ‘awakening’ in programmatic texts in order to describe both how individuals begin to live the Christian life and how Christian communities need to be corporately reminded of truths that they claimed that they are prone to forget. Hereby, the concept of ‘awakening’ became integral to the theological origins of German Protestantism and its religious worldview. The rhetoric of ‘awakening’ was later regularly invoked by prominent seventeenth and eighteenth-century German Protestants in order to garner support for their further religious reforms.

## **1.2 Religious ‘awakening’ in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Protestant texts**

Sixty-four years after the death of Luther in 1546 and a generation after the compendium of Lutheran orthodoxy, the *Book of Concord*, was published in 1580, the Lutheran pastor and church official Johann Arndt published his *Four Books on True Christianity* in 1610. Herein, Arndt spoke about the need for a new religious awakening in Germany. He lamented ‘how great and shameful is the abuse of the holy gospel in these last days of the world.’<sup>70</sup>

The target of Arndt’s indignation was what he perceived as merely nominal adherence to Christian beliefs and formalistic Christian commitment. He railed against those ‘who loudly extol Christ and his word, but who live godless, unrepentant, and entirely unchristian lives.’<sup>71</sup> While he explicitly stated his complete acceptance and adherence to the Augsburg Confession and Formula of Concord, he exhorted his readers that ‘when pure doctrine is unaccompanied by a holy life, it is of no help to those who

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<sup>69</sup> Jakob Andreä and Martin Chemnitz, et al., ‘Grundliche, lautere, richtige und endliche Wiederholung und Erklärung etlicher Artikel Augsburgischer Confession’, in *Die Symbolischen Bücher*, (pp. 563-730) p. 602.

<sup>70</sup> Johann Arndt, *Sechs Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1750), p. 56.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

profess it.<sup>72</sup> Arndt's sharpest barbs were aimed at university theologians and other ecclesiastical academics, whose scholastic endeavours he considered to be mainly motivated by their pride and an unholy desire for accolades. In his estimation these had prompted the production of a torrent of disputatious and esoteric scholarship.

Arndt explained that the widespread prevalence of such 'essentially godless conditions in Christendom' had moved him to write a book in which 'the simpleminded might see how true Christianity exists in a true, living, and active faith that manifests itself through acts of godliness and the fruits of righteousness.'<sup>73</sup> Arndt was adamant in his stress upon the Christian life as primarily one of discipleship and obedience. 'The name of Christ was not given to us so that we might merely believe in Christ, but rather so that we might see that we are to live in Christ, just as Christ lives in us.'<sup>74</sup> He averred that when a person had 'awakened' such longings were its fruits.<sup>75</sup> His message resonated with Protestants in a powerful way. By 1740, *True Christianity* had gone through 95 German editions, and had been translated into 21 other languages.<sup>76</sup> His 1610 warning that 'the godlessness of Christians is heaping up upon us the wrath and judgment of God, such that a time of great suffering, a time of war, famine, and plague is coming' must latterly have seemed prophetic in light of the eight million deaths of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), which took the lives of one out of every four German-speakers.<sup>77</sup>

Forty years after Arndt's death in 1621, Anton Horneck, a young Reformed scholar from the Rhineland arrived in Oxford in 1661 to study theology, having already done so in Heidelberg and Leiden.<sup>78</sup> Ten years later in 1671, Horneck entered into

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 573.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 577.

<sup>76</sup> W. R. Ward, *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 7; Johannes Wallmann, 'Johann Arndt', in *The Pietist Theologians*, ed. by Carter Lindberg (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp.21-37 (p. 21). According to Wallmann, these were: Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, Hungarian, Icelandic, Italian, Latin, Latvian, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Polish, Swiss Rhaeto-Romanic, Russian, Swedish, Tamil, Turkish, and Yiddish.

<sup>77</sup> Arndt, *Sechs Bücher*, 57-8; Peter Hamish Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (New York: Penguin, 2009), p. 4.

<sup>78</sup> Scott Thomas Kisker, *Foundation for Revival: Anthony Horneck, the Religious Societies and the Construction of Anglican Pietism* (Toronto: The Scarecrow Press, 2008), p. 17.

Anglican holy orders and commenced a twenty-six year pastoral ministry in London. Horneck made the same observations about the need for a religious awakening in Christendom as had Arndt. He sharply criticised clergy for neglecting their pastoral care duties when they held than one post simultaneously and became well-known for his attempts to remedy such practices by promoting small-group religion within the Church of England.

In 1671, Horneck wrote a rule for the use of those who had joined together into ‘vestry societies’ to pursue personal holiness. It instructed its adherents ‘To love one another; when reviled, not to revile again; to speak evil of no man; to wrong no man; to pray, if possible seven times a day; to keep close to the Church of England; to transact all things peaceably and gently; to be helpful to each other; to use themselves [sic] to holy thoughts in their coming in and going out; To examine themselves every night; to give everyone their due and to obey superiors both spiritual and temporal.’<sup>79</sup> In light of ‘the profaneness and disorders that have broken in among us’, his first biographer Richard Kidder, the Bishop of Bath, praised Horneck for how he had acted to bring about a ‘Reformation of manners.’<sup>80</sup> Indeed, after his death in 1697 Horneck became one of the few foreigners before or since to be honoured with a burial inside Westminster Abbey. In his 1698 *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London and of the Endeavours for Reformation of Manners which have been made therein*, Josiah Woodward credited Horneck with being ‘the father of the religious societies, from their first rise to the day of his death’, and commented on how ‘Dr. Horneck’s awakening sermons’, had moved his auditors to commit themselves to spiritual and moral improvement.<sup>81</sup>

In 1670, one year before Horneck started to do the same in London, Philipp Jakob Spener began to hold religious meetings in his home on Sunday and Wednesday

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<sup>79</sup> Richard Kidder, *The Life of the Reverend Anthony Horneck, D.D. Late Preacher at the Savoy* (London, 1698), p. 15-16.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>81</sup> Josiah Woodward, *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London and of the Endeavours for Reformation of Manners which have been made therein* (London, 1698), p. 17, pp. 34-35.

afternoons, in which those in attendance gathered for prayer and Bible reading.<sup>82</sup> In 1675, Spener, then the senior Lutheran minister in Frankfurt-am-Main, penned an introduction to a republication of a collection of some of Arndt's most popular sermons in which he articulated his 'pious desires' for the further Reformation of the Protestant Church in Germany. In *Pia Desideria*, Spener equated 'awakening' with the believer's reception of the grace of God. He taught that the Spirit of God awakened people through the Word of God as it what was read and proclaimed by human intermediaries.<sup>83</sup> Subsequently, Spener's detailed proposals for ecclesiastical and religious reforms became a major programmatic text for the Pietist movement.<sup>84</sup>

Spener discussed the significance of his *collegia pietatis* by building upon Luther's biblical metaphor about the Babylonian exile of the Church. He declared this small group religion was the next necessary step in the full realisation of the principles and goals of the Reformation. In 1677 Spener wrote that if Luther could be thought of as Zerubbabel, the Jewish leader who led the exiles from Babylon and back to the land of Israel and laid the foundations of the Second Temple, then he and his likeminded ministerial colleagues were like Ezra and Nehemiah who taught the people the Law and rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem.

I certainly believe that by no means did everything happen during the Reformation that then should have happened. Therefore, those today who are the followers of the Reformers are rightly obligated to continue their work. Furthermore, as I have lamented in my *Piis Desideriis*, although the departure from Babylon had occurred, the temple and the city were not immediately built, as many evil things had been brought back from Babylon, which remained to be purified by Ezra, Nehemiah, and the other prophets whom God had awakened to do so. I confess this to be the same with our Reformation, which so far has not come as far as it should

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<sup>82</sup> Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr, 1970), p. 258.

<sup>83</sup> Philipp Jakob Spener, *Pia Desideria, oder Herzliches Verlangen, Nach Gottgefälliger besserung der wahren Evangelischen Kirchen* (Frankfurt, 1676), p. 47.

<sup>84</sup> 'Introduction', in Philipp Jakob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), pp. 1-28 (pp. 14-15).

have, but rather has remained static with, so to speak, only the foundations of the Temple having been laid.<sup>85</sup>

Four years later, in 1681, Spener cried out in despair over ‘the conditions of our church, the great mass of whose members are not awakened.’<sup>86</sup> He expected that ‘the severe judgment of God’ would soon be coming upon those ‘who were not Christian or evangelical in anything other than in name only.’<sup>87</sup> Spener’s wider writings are replete with exhortations for pastors to preach in such a way that they awaken their people and for lay people to wake up and repent from lives of sin and religious indifference.

The course of Spener’s ecclesiastical career took him from Frankfurt to Dresden, where he was appointed as the preacher to the royal Saxon court in 1686. During his brief time in this post before his move to Berlin in 1691, he encountered in the *collegia pietatis* that he set up in this city a young theology student named Gottfried Arnold, whom he encouraged to enter parish ministry.<sup>88</sup> Today, Arnold is best remembered as the author of the lengthy *Nonpartisan History of the Church and Heretics*, which he completed in 1700. Arnold is commonly referred to as a radical Pietist, as opposed to an ecclesiastical Pietist. Instead of urging awakened Protestants to remain in their churches and work for their spiritual renewal from within, his reading of ecclesiastical history led him to the conclusion that the visible Church had become irredeemably corrupt and that many of those who had been deemed ‘heretics’ were in fact those through whom the Holy Spirit had worked to preserve the true teachings of Jesus.<sup>89</sup> Arnold characterised those religious leaders whom he considered to have departed from the purity of the

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<sup>85</sup> Philipp Jakob Spener, *Philipp Jakob Spener’s deutsche und lateinische theologische Bedenken*, ed. F.A.C. Hennicke (Halle: Gebauersche Buchhandlung, 1838), p. 436.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 445.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 445.

<sup>88</sup> Peter C. Erb, ‘Gottfried Arnold’, in *The Pietist Theologians*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 175-89 (p. 176).

<sup>89</sup> James D. Smith III, ‘Gottfried Arnold Speaks English: A Radical Pietist Introduces His ‘Non-Partisan History’ (1697)’, in *The Pietist Impulse in Christianity*, ed. by Christian T. Collins et al. (Cambridge: James T. Clarke, 2011), pp. 59-62 (p. 61).

ancient church as having been ‘awakened by Satan’, in contrast to the ‘heretics’ who had been ‘awakened by the Holy Spirit.’<sup>90</sup>

The concept of spiritual ‘awakening’ was also a major theme in the writings of the Halle Pietists. In his 1701, *Beneficent Footsteps of the Still Living and Prevailing, Rich in Love and Faithful God, Which are Revealed Through a Thorough and Truthful Report of the Orphanage and Other Foundations in Glaucha near Halle to the Shame of Unbelief and for the Strengthening of Faith*, August Hermann Francke discussed ‘awakening’ as a general work of God in the life of the believer that initiates a life of faith and obedience. He then gave many specific examples of how God had ‘awakened’ particular individuals to contribute toward his ameliorative endeavours on behalf of ‘the poor and the suffering in Halle.’<sup>91</sup> ‘One time, there was a shortage of funds, when God awakened the heart of a pious farmer, that he brought me as much money as he could grasp in his hand; it was five Thalers.’<sup>92</sup> On a separate occasion, Francke stated that ‘God had awakened the heart of his royal highness Prince George [of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne] in England to graciously give three hundred Thalers for the Orphanage.’<sup>93</sup>

It was the German chaplain to Prince George, Anton Wilhelm Boehm, who did the most to introduce the Pietism of Halle to Britain through his English translations of Arndt’s *True Christianity*, Francke’s account of his activities, and the correspondence of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau, the Halle missionaries to southern India. Boehm explained the origins of Pietism and the institutions at Halle in the following manner.

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<sup>90</sup> Gottfried Arnold, *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie: Vom Anfang des Neuen Testaments bis auff das Jahr Christi 1688*, I (Frankfurt-am-Main: Thomas Fritsch, 1700), pp. 13, 26, 143, 156, 397; II, pp. 7, 14, 54, 97, 130, 228, 422, 439, 663.

<sup>91</sup> August Hermann Francke, *Segens-volle Fusstapfen des noch lebenden und waltenden liebevollen und getreuen Gottes, Zur Beschämung des Unglaubens und Stärckung des Glaubens, entdeckt durch eine wahrhafte und umständliche Nachricht von dem Waysen-Hause und übrigen Anstalten zu Glaucha vor Halle*, I (Halle, 1701), pp. 51-52; II, pp. 42-43, 51, 64, 65, 93; III, pp. 11, 19, 23, 40, 50, 53, 80, 85, 88; IV, pp. 7, 74; V, pp. 20, 23, 58, 67, 68, 76, 124, 143, 172; VI, pp. 148, 152, 155, 156, 157, 162, 236, 252, 256, 260, 262

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 42.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 23.



Several young students, who though they professed the study of divinity, did nevertheless walk after the manner of the world, being now awakened and convinced by the power of the divine word, which they met with in those lectures and exercises [led by Francke], began to lead a serious and sober life with all diligence, and carefully to direct their studies to God's greater glory and the good and welfare of the Church in a more eminent manner...and were in derision called Pietists.<sup>94</sup>

One of these awakened individuals was Johann Kaspar Schade, who studied under Francke in Halle before becoming the deacon of Spener's St. Nicholas Church in Berlin. Prematurely on his deathbed at age 32, Boehm records how one of Schade's final remarks was a joyful reflection that although 'the ecclesiastical, political, and oeconomical [i.e. domestic] states had fallen into a secure sleep, the Lord has risen up to awaken them with a strong voice.'<sup>95</sup> Similarly, in his preface to Ziegenbalg and Plütschau's dispatches, Boehm mused, 'how marvellous are the Footsteps of divine Providence, which have always attended the conversion of nations to the faith, so that it might appear to be of God, and not of man; nothing less than a divine power is able to awaken the souls that sleep in spiritual darkness, and to give them a true knowledge of Jesus Christ.'<sup>96</sup> Pietism attained the zenith of its temporal influence when in 1729 King Friedrich Wilhelm I decreed that all ministerial candidates in Prussia had to spend at least two years at the University of Halle and obtain a certificate from the faculty there attesting to their character and spiritual preparedness for ministry.<sup>97</sup>

Boehm's English translations of Pietist texts encouraged English and German-speaking Protestants to compare reports of religious awakenings in each other's contexts. After reading Boehm's works, the New England pastor Cotton Mather

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<sup>94</sup> August Hermann Francke, *Pietas Hallensis: Being an Historical Narration of the Wonderful Footsteps of Divine Providence in Erecting, Carrying on, and Building the Orphan-House and Other Charitable Institutions at Glaucha near Hall in Saxony, Without any Visible Fund to Support It*, trans. by Anton Wilhelm Boehm (London, 1703), p. xxxiv.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxii.

<sup>96</sup> Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East: Being an Account of the Success of two Danish Missionaries, Lately sent to the East Indies for the Conversion of the Heathens in Malabar in Several Letters to their Correspondents in Europe*, I, trans. by Anton Wilhelm Boehm (London, 1711), p. xxiii.

<sup>97</sup> August Tholuck, *Geschichte des Pietismus und des ersten Stadiums der Aufklärung* (Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben, 1865), p. 29.

remarked in his 6 August 1716 letter to Boehm, ‘I truly believe the American Puritanism to be at one with the Frederician Pietism [Friedrich III was the Elector of Brandenburg].’<sup>98</sup> Similarly, after reading a copy of Jonathan Edwards’ 1736 *A Faithful Narrative of Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton*, Johann Adam Steinmetz, a Lutheran pastor and the general superintendent at Magdeburg, translated it into German. In his preface Steinmetz wondered if the accounts of repentance and faith coming from New England, combined with the spiritual apathy and hardness of heart that he observed in Germany, were harbingers of how God might one day ‘finally remove his light from unthankful Europe and give to the American wilderness the glory of Lebanon, the treasure of Carmel and Sharon, [allusions to Isaiah 35] the eternal love that was for centuries given to us, and which, unfortunately, was mostly given to us in vain.’<sup>99</sup> However, Steinmetz yet had hope that this divine abandonment could be forestalled, if the German people, urged on by these reports from New England, repented of their sins and rededicated themselves to their Christian commitments.

Steinmetz noted that the Massachusetts Puritans were not that different from his Lutheran audiences in Prussia and Saxony, where his works were published. Even though they ‘were more closely related to the Reformed Churches of Germany’, Steinmetz informed his readers that the Puritans ‘have much love towards us’, which he claimed dated back to the reception of the English Puritan Marian exiles in Lutheran Frankfurt in the early 1550s. According to Steinmetz, the New England Puritans had ‘always preached the gospel of Christ, his atonement, and justification by faith alone, never merely to impress upon people good morals, but to instruct their souls in true godliness.’<sup>100</sup>

Steinmetz declared that Edward’s news had overwhelmed him with joy and renewed his hope for an improvement in the spiritual conditions of Germany, especially

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<sup>98</sup> Cotton Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1709-1724*, II (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1957), p. 411.

<sup>99</sup> Jonathan Edwards, *Glaubwürdige Nachricht von dem herrlichen Werck Gottes Welches sich in Bekehrung vieler hundert Seelen zu Northampton und an anderen Orten in Neu-Engeland*, trans. by Johann Adam Steinmetz (Magdeburg, 1738), p. 18.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

because of how many of his countrymen had previously told him that they doubted whether it would ever even be possible in modern times for large numbers of people to come to faith as they had in the days of the early Church.<sup>101</sup> Steinmetz concluded his introductory remarks with a prayer. He asked God ‘to continue his gracious work among Christians and heathens in all parts of the world until the end of the age’ and ‘to lead of those who were still going along the path of error and doom through the power of your gospel all to the only savior, Jesus Christ.’ In particular, Steinmetz beseeched God to ‘awaken especially the many, many people in the Protestant churches of Germany from the sleep of sin and false security.’<sup>102</sup> Ten years later in 1748, Steinmetz drew similar conclusions from his reading of the Scottish minister James Robe’s *A Faithful Narrative of the Extraordinary work of the spirit of God, at Kilsyth, and other Congregations in the Neighborhood*, which he also translated into German.<sup>103</sup>

Thus far this lexicological analysis has shown that the concept of awakening had two interrelated meanings in early German Protestant contexts. Firstly, it expressed the belief that God awakened individuals by working in their lives to move them from unbelief to faith. Secondly, it described a belief about the nature of God’s commitment to the Church. According to this belief, even though it sometimes erred in its doctrines and its obedience lapsed, God’s faithfulness to the Church was such that he would never abandon it. God was believed to have awakened the Church at different times in its history in order to bring it back to right beliefs and practices. Awakenings preserved ecclesiastical orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

Each of the foregoing examples has demonstrated how Protestant leaders spoke about the need for awakening from either an ignorance of Christianity, an incorrect understanding of Christianity, or an indifference towards Christianity. However, beginning with texts from the middle decades of the eighteenth-century, it becomes possible to observe the appearance of religious concerns of a different nature, concerns

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 1-2.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>103</sup> James Robe, *Beglaubte Nachricht von dem ungewöhnlichen Gnaden-Wercke des Heiligen Geistes zu Kilsyth und in andern Gemeinen um Glasgow in Schottland*, trans. Johann Adam Steinmetz (Magdeburg, 1748).

that Christianity was either being adulterated to conform to contemporary sensibilities or that it was being rejected in favour of other systems of belief. These new concerns reflected the decline of the heretofore hegemonic position of Christianity in early modern German culture that was concomitant with the shift from Old Protestantism to New Protestantism.

### **1.3 Descriptions of a late eighteenth-century religious malaise in Protestant Germany**

In an essay in the 2006 *Cambridge History of Christianity*, Hartmut Lehmann identified the beginning of Friedrich II's reign in Prussia in 1740 as a moment of 'drastic change' and nothing less than a 'watershed' in the religious history of German-speaking Europe. Lehmann noted that the new King of Prussia 'was a fervent believer in the ideas of the Enlightenment. He despised the kind of piety that Halle propagated and did not hesitate to make his thoughts on the matter clear.'<sup>104</sup> According to Lehmann, Friedrich II's accession to the Hohenzollern throne abruptly ended the era in German Protestantism that had been driven by Pietism and simultaneously marked the beginning of the era that was shaped by the Enlightenment. 'What has to be stressed once again is the importance of the caesura of 1740. The Enlightenment had little impact in Protestant Germany before Frederick the Great became king. The Enlightenment then gained momentum between 1740 and the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763. In the years between 1763 and the beginning of the French Revolution, the public sphere, including the theological faculties of the German universities, became dominated by the themes that were central to the Enlightenment.'<sup>105</sup>

In this analysis Lehmann built upon the work of the early twentieth-century University of Halle historian of Protestant dogma Karl Aner. In his classic study of the theology of the Protestant Enlightenment Aner argued that between 1750 and 1800 many German academic theologians ceased to believe that divine revelation and human

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<sup>104</sup> Hartmut Lehmann, 'Continental Protestant Europe', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, VI: *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution, 1660-1815*, ed. by Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 33-53 (pp. 39-40).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

reason were mutually complementary and equally epistemologically valid sources of truth. Rather, they considered it their duty to apply the tests of reason to the contents of the Scriptures and to then ‘remove from their theological systems whatever seemed to be against reason.’<sup>106</sup> According to Aner, the fruits of these endeavours resulted first in ‘the elimination of nearly the entirety of the contents of biblical revelation that made Christianity a unique religion. They then reformulated the concept of revelation itself so that the so-called religious truths of revelation could be made to comport with the religious truths of reason.’<sup>107</sup> Aner noted that these attempts to create a compromise position between reason and revelation proved to be a mere way-station on the road to what he called a thoroughgoing theological ‘rationalism’, in which the very ‘idea of revelation was abandoned and all the traditional teachings of the Scriptures reinterpreted’ so as to be in no way offensive to human reason.<sup>108</sup> The emergence of this new religious environment during the Enlightenment further influenced how the concept of religious awakening developed in German Protestantism.

In 1743, Count Nicklaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf spoke of the year 1727 as having been the high-watermark of Pietism. According to the leader of the Moravians, after August Hermann Francke’s death, public religious life in Germany began to be corrupted by ‘the principles of religious tolerance that had been propounded by the [Prussian] state councillors [Christian] Thomasius and [Ernst] Freiherr von Metternich. Soon these principles were adopted by all the courts and universities in Germany.’<sup>109</sup> Zinzendorf noted positively that ‘one no longer hears of persecution on religious grounds’ and that these new religious freedoms had coincided with a ‘new awakening of heartfelt religion among students at the Universities of Leipzig, Tübingen, and Jena.’<sup>110</sup> However, he also lamented how religious toleration had permitted ‘every enthusiast

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<sup>106</sup> Karl Aner, *Die Theologie der Lessingzeit* (Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1929), p. 4.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>109</sup> Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, ‘Ein Extract aus der Anno 1743 entworfenen Special-Historie von einer in die letzte Kirchen-Zeit fallenden Kleinen Gnaden-Oeconomie’, in *Peri Eautu. Das ist: Naturelle Reflexiones über allerhand Materien, Nach der Art, wie Er bey sich selbst zu denken gewohnt ist* (N.P.: 1749), pp. 3-32 (p. 11).

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

[*Schwärmer*] to spread whatever sort of religious ideas that came into his head without feeling any kind of shame about doing so. Germany is now menaced by as many sects as England, Holland, and America.’<sup>111</sup>

Similarly, in 1748, the royal chaplain to Friedrich II of Prussia and member of the Prussian Royal Academy of Science, August Wilhelm Friedrich Sack, published an apologetic work entitled *The Faith of Christians Defended*. Herein Sack declared in the language of 2 Peter 3 that the Church was now living in the ‘last days of the world’ in which the ‘degeneration of morals has spread in all directions and has advanced against almost all humility and innocence.’<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, according to Sack, there was at this time ‘a huge herd of non-believers and so-called free-spirits who have risen up among us, who publicly speak scornfully of religion and virtue, and especially of the teaching and person of Jesus Christ, which they seek to befoul with the most outrageous blasphemies and mockeries.’<sup>113</sup>

The same kind of social commentary can be found at the other end of the German-speaking world in Pennsylvania, where a 1753 census reported that 100,000 of the colony’s 190,000 European inhabitants were Germans.<sup>114</sup> Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg, the Halle-trained pastor to the colony’s Lutheran residents, reflected on these matters in an October 1750 journal entry.

It is almost impossible to describe how few good and how many exceptionally godless, wicked people come into this country every year. The whole country is being flooded with ordinary, extraordinary and unprecedented wickedness and crimes. Surely the rod of God cannot be spared much longer. Our old residents are mere stupid children in sin when compared with the new arrivals! Oh, what a fearful thing it is to have so many thousands of unruly and brazen sinners come into this free air and unfenced country!<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 11,

<sup>112</sup> August Wilhelm Friedrich Sack, *Vertheidigter Glaube der Christen* (Berlin, 1773), pp. 3-4.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>114</sup> Ralph Frasca, ‘“To Rescue the Germans Out of Sauer’s Hands”, Benjamin Franklin’s German-Language Printing Partnerships’, *PMHB* 121 (1997), pp. 329-50 (p. 346).

<sup>115</sup> Heinrich Muhlenberg, *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, I, ed. and trans. by John Doberstein and Theodore Tappert (Philadelphia: Lutheran Historical Society of Eastern Pennsylvania, 1942), p. 260.

Major contemporary philosophical and literary figures who were not pietists also made similar criticisms of public religious life. Likewise, in a rebuke of what he considered to be the debauched state of sexual morality in Berlin in 1751, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing remarked ‘that it would be a shame if the day did not again come when it is respectable for someone to be called a good Christian. Nowadays, for the sake of keeping up good appearances, one has to pretend that he is nothing more nor less than an atheist.’<sup>116</sup> In a 1769 letter to Friedrich Nicolai, the editor of the Berlin quarterly literary journal *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* Lessing stated his frustrations over the lack of freedom to express oneself on political matters in Prussia, sharply remarking that ‘the freedom in Berlin to think and write amounts to nothing more than the freedom to produce as many inanities about religion as one likes.’<sup>117</sup>

In his famous 1784 essay, Immanuel Kant claimed that Germany had entered, ‘the age of enlightenment – the century of Friedrich.’<sup>118</sup> Kant, a professor of logic and metaphysics at the University of Königsberg, was deeply troubled by how the current state of religious affairs in German-speaking Europe near the end of the eighteenth century did not seem to him to treat most people with human dignity. He believed that the common people had long been kept in a state of religious immaturity by merely being told by others what they must believe. He likened the Lutheran and Reformed Churches’ traditional commitments to the fixed statements of religious truth found in their respective confessional symbols, the Augsburg Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, to ‘totally invalid contracts’ because of how the definitiveness of such doctrinal positions, allegedly, conspired to ‘prevent all further enlightenment of the human race’,<sup>119</sup> and contributed to a culture of religious inculcation that reminded him of how farmers treated their livestock.<sup>120</sup> Kant denounced this as the ‘most harmful and

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<sup>116</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, ‘Review of *Memoires pour servir a l’histoire des moeurs du XVIII. Siecle*’, in *Gotthold Ephraim Lessings Sämmtliche Schriften*, III, ed. by Karl Lachmann (Berlin: Voss’schen Buchhandlung, 1838), pp 193-94 (p. 194).

<sup>117</sup> Ulrich Barth and Clau-Dieter Osthövener, *200 Jahre ‘Reden über die Religion:’ Akten des 1. Internationalen Kongresses der Schleiermacher-Gesellschaft, Halle, 14.-17. März 1999* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), p. 291.

<sup>118</sup> Immanuel Kant, ‘Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?’ *BMS*, 2 (1784), p. 491.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 488.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 482.

dishonorable kind of immaturity’, and he exhorted his readers to ‘have the courage to use your *own* understanding’, when it came to what they believed.<sup>121</sup> He then proceeded to extol the Prussian king as ‘Friedrich the Great’, praising him as one who was particularly exemplary in this regard for being a ‘prince who does not find it beneath himself to say that he considers it to be his *duty* to regulate nothing, but to rather leave men complete freedom in religious matters.’<sup>122</sup>

Two of the sharpest critics of the religious Enlightenment and its manifestation in Prussia in particular were Friedrich Christoph Oetinger and Franz Volkmar Reinhard. In 1770, Oetinger preached a thunderous sermon ‘against the spiritless doctrines of Berlin’ from his pulpit in Murrhardt in Württemberg.<sup>123</sup>

The teachers in Berlin know nothing of the Father of Glory, nothing of the God who raised Christ from the dead... they imagine that God works as mechanically as gravity does in Newton’s system... In their commitment to Isaac Newton they do not consider the admirable physics of Cotton Mather, which he built upon the work of Johann Arndt... They know nothing of man as he is before the throne of grace... They know nothing of angels and devils because these cannot be explained through Leibnitz’ system of monads... They know nothing of what sin is... They know nothing of eating and drinking the flesh and blood of Christ... and still less of the communion of the saints... They know nothing of how union with the Spirit of Jesus is accomplished through baptism and the Lord’s supper... They know nothing of heaven and hell and nothing of the time before the resurrection... They call all those who do not accept their teachings ‘enthusiasts.’<sup>124</sup>

From 1780 to 1792, Reinhard was a professor of theology and later the rector of the University of Wittenberg before being appointed as the court preacher to the Elector of Saxony in Dresden. In 1810, he published a series of epistolary autobiographical

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p. 481, p. 492. Emphasis in original.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 491. Emphasis in original.

<sup>123</sup> Friedrich Christoph Oetinger, ‘Ermahnung an alle Rechtschaffenen sich gegen die geistlosen Berlinischen Lehren im Geiste des Sinnes zu erneuen und es Gott besonders im Gebet vorzutragen’, in *Die Epistelpredigten: Grundbegriffe des Neuen Testaments in einem neuen Jahrgang von Predigten über die sonn-, fest-, und feiertäglichen Episteln*, ed. Karl Ehmann (Metzingen, Württemberg: Ernst Franz Verlag, 1978), pp. 343-51 (p. 343).

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., pp. 348-50.



reflections in which he described the intellectual and professional difficulties that he had experienced as a pastor and scholar during this time.

Because of my adherence to the doctrines of our church, or rather to be more precise, because of my adherence to the doctrines of the Scriptures, which I have taken every opportunity to acknowledge in my sermons, I have been bitterly condemned from all sides and I have been made to feel ashamed...I became a preacher at a time in which our enlightened theologians [*aufklärenden Theologen*] had succeeded in rendering the doctrines of Christianity so clear and apprehensible, that nothing was left but pure rationalism [*reiner Rationalismus*]. At this time, for any who desired to gain acclaim and receive praise in the academic journals, it was an almost an necessary prerequisite, that he should have declared some book of the Bible spurious, or have contested some established doctrine. Whoever ventured to make his appearance in public without doing homage to the spirit of the age, could count on being received with mockery and contempt.<sup>125</sup>

Reinhard further explained how ‘for me there remained only two choices. I either had to become a strict rationalist and throw away the Gospel along with all divine revelation, or else decide to become just as strong of a supernaturalist and subordinate reason in all matters of faith to the Scriptures.’<sup>126</sup> Reinhard decided to become a ‘supernaturalist’ because of certain religious needs that he found himself unable to ignore. ‘My faith is in the creator of reason because I need a saviour and mediator, just the kind of one that Christ is.’<sup>127</sup>

In his well-known essay of 1799, ‘Christendom or Europe?’ Friedrich Freiherr von Hardenberg, ‘Novalis’, claimed that the overwhelming majority of European intellectuals had made the opposite choice from the one that Reinhard had made.<sup>128</sup> This former student of Friedrich Schiller at the University of Jena claimed that in recent decades, ‘hatred of the Bible had grown into hatred of Christianity and finally into the hatred of religion in general.’<sup>129</sup> He bemoaned how many people in his day seemed to

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<sup>125</sup> Franz Volkmar Reinhard, *Geständnisse seine Predigten und seine Bildung zum Prediger betreffend in Briefen an einen Freund* (Sulzbach, 1810), pp. 91-92.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., pp. 104-06.

<sup>128</sup> Friedrich von Hardenberg, ‘Die Christenheit oder Europa?’ *Die Werke Friedrich von Hardenbergs*, III, ed. by Paul Kluckhohn and R.H. Samuel (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1977), pp. 507-525

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. 515.

think of the universe as ‘a monstrous mill that was driven by the stream of chance, one which milled of its own accord without builder or miller.’<sup>130</sup>

That same year in his treatise *Speeches on Religion to the Cultured Among its Despisers* Friedrich Schleiermacher expressed pity for all of his fellow clergymen who were then bewailing the ‘downfall of religion’.<sup>131</sup> He averred that he could not add his voice to their choir of ‘barbaric lamentations inspired by the old faith, whereby they wish through all their shrieking to raise again the fallen walls of their Jewish Zion and its Gothic pillars.’<sup>132</sup> Schleiermacher’s *Speeches* endure as one of the best known examples of the voluminous literature on the perceived religious decline in Germany during this time. However, in the years before the French Revolution and after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the religious condition of Germany was analysed with a tremendous sense of urgency by hundreds of other pastors and theologians whose viewpoints spanned the entire theological spectrum. Despite the many differences that abided between those with different confessional allegiances and different beliefs about the relationship between revelation and reason, there was a consensus that Germany was experiencing a serious religious malaise.

Through his study of several hundred books, journal articles, and pamphlets that were published between 1780 and 1820 on ‘the downfall of the church’, ‘the downfall of religion’, and ‘estrangement from the church’ (‘*der Verfall der Kirche*’, ‘*der Verfall der Religion*’, and ‘*Unkirchlichkeit*’) Martin Burkhardt has demonstrated that the causes and cures of this alarming social problem were topics of frequent and thorough discussion in Germany during this time.<sup>133</sup> For example, in a lecture at the University of Jena in 1802 on the particular academic method that was necessary for the study of theology the philosopher Friedrich Schelling wryly quipped that the preceding century’s ‘*Aufklärerei*’

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. 515.

<sup>131</sup> Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*, ed. by Karl Schwarz (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1868), p. 5.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>133</sup> Martin Burkhardt, *Die Diskussion über die Unkirchlichkeit, ihre Ursachen und möglichen Abhilfen im ausgehenden 18. Und frühen 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1999), p. 267.

could actually be better described as ‘*Ausklärerei*.’<sup>134</sup> Schelling maintained that despite their claims to be working to restore Christianity to its primitive purity, their intellectual project of the Protestant religious Enlightenment had actually resulted more in a ‘clearing out’ of traditional Christian beliefs than in their ‘clearing up.’ Similarly, in his 1820 pamphlet, *Regarding the Estrangement from the Church at this time in Protestant Germany*, the theologian and General Superintendent of the Lutheran Church in Thuringia, Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider, defined *Unkirchlichkeit* as ‘an indifference to the bonds, the institutions, the purposes, the continuation, and the welfare of the Church.’<sup>135</sup> Bretschneider, who described himself as a ‘rationalist’ warned that ‘if estrangement from the Church should continue to grow as it has since the Seven Years’ War [1756-63], the outcome for the Church could not be anything other than the gradual dissolution of its entire existence.’<sup>136</sup>

## 1.4 Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated how the religious concept of ‘awakening’ was used by early German Protestants who admired the theology and piety of the Reformation and perceived themselves as furthering its work. The Protestants who belonged to the Awakening movement continued to use the concept of religious awakening in this sense. It described their desires to renew popular adherence to historic Protestant doctrines in Germany and to foster the kind of interior spiritual life that was based upon the same. The following chapter builds upon the analysis presented here by examining how the concept of religious awakening took on an additional meaning in relation to growing fears that orthodox Christian faith had been slowly disappearing from German society since the middle of the eighteenth-century. In the early nineteenth century the concept of awakening became synonymous with an opposition to both the

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<sup>134</sup>Friedrich Schelling, *Vorlesungen über die Methode des akademischen Studiums*, ed. by Walter E. Ehrhardt (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1974), p. 94.

<sup>135</sup> Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider, *Über die Unkirchlichkeit dieser Zeit im protestantischen Deutschland* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1822), p. 1.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

radical Enlightenment's criticisms of Christianity and the Protestant religious Enlightenment's theological system of 'rationalism.'



## **Chapter Two - Religious Enlightenment and Awakening: Historical consciousness and Protestant identity**

### **Introduction**

Before examining in the following chapters how the Awakening manifested itself in different spheres of early nineteenth-century German Protestant religious life, it is first essential to observe how awakened Protestants understood their religious beliefs and activities. In the historical study of the Awakening, we are immediately confronted by Protestants whose very notion of a religious awakening implicitly entailed an often highly negative verdict upon the preceding period of German religious history. Protestants who called for a religious awakening in Germany measured contemporary conditions of religious life against either their idealised conceptions of earlier historical periods or what they imagined as an ideal state of religious affairs.

An intrinsic problem that is common to the historical study of all strongly partisan movements in the history of Protestantism is understanding the particular mentality, or worldview, of those who desired to see religious changes. For example, just as the historical study of the Protestant Reformation requires an understanding of those aspects of religious life in the early modern Western Church that the first Protestants wanted to reform, so in the Awakening there is a need to understand what the Protestant activists wanted to awaken. This chapter will answer this question by considering two competing interpretations of the history of modern Protestantism that appeared within the Protestant churches of Germany before and during the Awakening. The former of these narratives perceived changes in faith and theology as signs that Christianity was progressively advancing through the providential enlightenment of the Church. The latter regarded these same changes as a falling away from the forms of faith and theology that were taught by the Bible, and indeed, attributed the changes not to God but rather to the devil. As a means of introducing the question of what awakened Protestants understood as being ‘awakened’, we will first consider several concurrent interpretations of the recent history of German Protestantism made between 1834 and 1842 by scholars, church officials, and literary figures who came from different backgrounds and areas of Germany, and who all agreed that German Protestantism had

been in a considerable state of theological ferment and upheaval ever since the mid-eighteenth century.

## 2.1 Interpretations of the Protestant religious Enlightenment

In addition to the pamphlet that we noted in the last chapter, the superintendent of the Lutheran Church in Thuringia, Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider, further discussed such historical developments in a work of 1835 in which he contested the allegation that certain modern theologies fomented political revolution. ‘For one hundred years now, theology in the Protestant areas of Germany has been moving in two different directions, that of the historic orthodoxy of the church [*altkirchliche Theologie*] and that of the new scientific theology [*neuwissenschaftliche Theologie*], which, imperfectly, are commonly referred to as supernaturalism [*Supernaturalismus*] and rationalism [*Rationalismus*].’<sup>1</sup> In 1819, a pastor in Weimar, in territory that was under Bretschneider’s ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to his dismay claimed that eighty percent of those who had had a gymnasium or university education had become adherents of Protestant rationalism, in addition to fifty-percent of the merchant class, and one-third of the peasantry.<sup>2</sup> In an earlier work, *Luther for Our Time: Words of Luther, Which Particularly Deserve to be Taken to Heart in Our Age*, that he had edited for publication in conjunction with tercentenary celebrations of the Reformation in 1817, Bretschneider lauded Martin Luther himself as a forerunner of theological rationalism and provided detailed definitions of what he meant by the theological labels of ‘supernaturalism’ and ‘rationalism.’<sup>3</sup>

In our days, that theological mindset – which [1] finds in the Holy Scriptures an unmediated divine revelation, [2] which accepts that the authors of the Bible, especially Jesus and the Apostles, received special, unmediated teachings from God, and wrote their writings under the influence of the Holy Spirit, and [3] believes that those

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider, *Die Theologie und die Revolution, Oder: die theologischen Richtungen unserer Zeit in ihrem Einflusse auf den politischen und sittlichen Zustand der Völker* (Leipzig: Friedrich Vogel, 1835), p. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Rudolf Hermann, *Thüringische Kirchengeschichte*, II (Frommann: Jena, 1947), p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider, *Luther an uns Zeit, oder Worte Luthers, welche von unserm Zeitalter besonders beherzigt zu werden verdienen* (Erfurt: G. A. Keyzers, 1817), pp. 186-89.

teachings in their writings that are beyond rational comprehension must be accepted as divine truths – is known by the name of supernaturalism. This is because it accepts that there is a supernatural (or extra-natural) work of God in the instruction of mankind in the things of religion. Earlier, one called this way of thinking orthodoxy [*Orthodoxie, Rechtgläubigkeit*] because Luther and virtually all of the theologians after him adhered to this way of thinking, until the middle of the eighteenth-century. The theological mindset – which does not accept a supernatural, unmediated, and miraculous revelation, but rather claims [1] that God has only given a general revelation to mankind, which comes to man as he contemplates the natural world and humanity with his reason, [2] that the writers of the Holy Scriptures did not write under an unmediated inspiration of the Spirit of God, [3] that Christianity does not have any incomprehensible truths to teach, but rather that the religious teachings of reason alone should be acknowledged, and [4] that mankind cannot and should not accept as true any teaching that is not discernible and demonstrable from reason – is called by the name of rationalism, or also naturalism. This is, partially, because it raises reason as the judge over all the doctrines of the faith, and partially because it conflates revealed doctrines with the so-called natural religion. Earlier, one called this way of thinking heterodoxy or neology, because it differed from the earlier way of thinking in the Lutheran Church and because it was newer than it.<sup>4</sup>

In his posthumously published autobiography, Bretschneider remarked how ‘I was born to become a rationalist theologian and not a mystical theologian because reason, and not feeling, was the dominant power of my spirit.’<sup>5</sup>

In *The Life of Jesus*, which first appeared in 1835, David Friedrich Strauss contended that early nineteenth-century German Protestantism was deeply divided between the two religious parties which he identified as the ‘orthodox’ [*altkirchlich/orthodox*] and the ‘rationalists’ [*rationalistisch*]. In introducing his new ‘mythic’ interpretation of Christian origins, Strauss argued that Christology was the ground upon which the contrasts between orthodox and rationalist Protestantism were most visible, where they ‘completely contradicted each other.’<sup>6</sup> Strauss defined

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>5</sup> Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider, *Aus meinem Leben*, ed. by Horst Bretschneider (Gotha: J.G. Müll, 1851), pp. 124-25.

<sup>6</sup> David Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet*, II (Tübingen: C.F. Osiander, 1836), p. 710.



‘orthodoxy’ as that form of Christianity in which Jesus was worshipped as the divine, resurrected, and returning Messiah, whose death had made sacrificial atonement for the sins of his people, and who presently continued his ministry from his place in heaven at the right hand of God.

The dogmas of our Church recognise that in his work, Christ exercises a three-fold office. As prophet, he has revealed to mankind the highest truth, God’s will for salvation, confirming his words through miracles. To this day, he still concerns himself with its proclamation on earth. As high priest, he has through his impeccable conduct fulfilled the law on our behalf in his active obedience, and in his sufferings and death, he has borne the punishment that we deserved in his passive obedience. Today he continually intercedes for us before the Father. As king, he everlastingly rules the world, especially the church, who he is leading out of its struggles on earth and into the glory of heaven, which he will complete on the day of resurrection and the judgment of the world.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, Strauss defined ‘rationalist’ Protestants as those who ‘rejected the [aforementioned] dogmas of the Church concerning the person and work of Christ as contradictory, useless, and, indeed harmful to true moral religiosity’, and they believed that they had established through their historical researches that such tenets were later additions to the original message of Jesus.<sup>8</sup> In rationalism, Jesus was acknowledged as a providentially sent, but merely human messenger, whose aim was not to be worshipped, but rather to teach religion and morality in their purest forms and to impart the most excellent examples of their praxis.<sup>9</sup> Thus did Strauss maintain that ‘Rationalism had entered into open conflict with the Christian faith by attempting to expel from dogmatic theology the keystone and cornerstone of Christology.’<sup>10</sup>

While Strauss was preparing the final draft of *The Life of Jesus* for publication, in 1834, the Düsseldorf-born Jewish poet and journalist Heinrich Heine, who had sought and received baptism in the Lutheran Church in 1825 in order to remove the religious

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 700-01.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 689-90, p. 707.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 707-08.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 710.

barrier to obtaining a position as a lecturer in law at a Prussian university, contributed a three-part essay on the history of German religion and philosophy from Luther to Hegel to the Parisian journal *Revue des deux mondes*.<sup>11</sup> Heine, like Strauss, claimed that at this time the religious ideas of both orthodoxy and rationalism had become worn out and were now in the process of withering away. In an attempt to shock his readers, Heine declared that ‘our hearts are full of compassion as we see old Jehovah preparing to die.’<sup>12</sup> Heine traced the life of Jehovah from ‘his birth in Egypt, where he was a pupil among the divine crocodiles and sacred cats’, to his move to ‘Palestine, where he became the little god-king of a poor shepherd people’, to his life in ‘Rome, where he abjured his former national prejudices and proclaimed the equality of all peoples’, and ultimately became ‘the loving father and friend of all mankind.’<sup>13</sup> The cousin of Karl Marx’s and sharing Marx’s hope for working-class revolution, Heine warned his French audience to beware the death of Jehovah because of what he anticipated would soon come afterwards in a post-Christian Germany. ‘Christianity has, to a certain extent, mellowed the brutal passion that the German people have for war, but it has not been able to eradicate it completely. When the cross, that talisman which yet restrains them, breaks into pieces, then the ferocity of the ancient Germanic warriors will return to again be praised in song.’<sup>14</sup>

Heine located the beginning of this process of Christian disintegration in the mid-eighteenth-century when he claimed ‘rationalist theologians’ began their attempts ‘to rejuvenate Christianity, by opening its veins to allow its superstitious blood to drain out’.<sup>15</sup> According to Heine, the rationalist ‘reform of Protestant theology’ was led by Johann Semler, a professor of theology at the University of Halle; Wilhelm Teller, the provost of Cölln (the settlement on the opposite bank of the Spree River from Berlin) and a member of the Lutheran Consistory in the Prussian capital; Karl Bahrddt, who was

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<sup>11</sup> Jeffrey L. Sammons, *Heinrich Heine: Alternative Perspectives, 1985-2005* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2006), p. 194.

<sup>12</sup> Heinrich Heine, ‘De l’Allemagne depuis Luther, deuxième partie’, RDM, 4 (1834), pp. 375-408 (p. 408).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 677.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 397.

a professor of theology at the Universities of Leipzig, Erfurt, and Giessen; but above all by King Friedrich II ('Frederick the Great') of Prussia and Friedrich Nicolai, the Berlin-based publisher of the *Universal German Library*.<sup>16</sup> In Heine's view, such scholars remade Christianity by removing from it all of its supernatural elements on the grounds that God had used miracles temporarily to accommodate himself to the primitive religious beliefs of ancient peoples, but that supernatural elements were no longer needed by their modern descendants. 'Rationalism emptied Christianity of all of its historical beliefs and left nothing remaining except its moral teachings, reducing it to a pure deism.'<sup>17</sup> Heine interpreted the epoch of '*rationalisme*' as having lasted approximately a generation until the publication of Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* set German philosophy on new idealistic trajectory, which he traced through Johann Fichte and Friedrich Schelling until its culmination in the work of Georg Hegel. Heine asserted with great admiration that the true genius of Hegel's philosophy was how in introducing a new modern 'pantheism', it had succeeded in carrying religion in Germany forwards into a post-Christian era that simultaneously returned it to its pre-Christian state of pure spirit worship and 'the demonic forces of ancient German pantheism [demonic not in the sense of the evil spirits of the Bible, but of the elemental spirit of Plato's *daimon*].'<sup>18</sup>

Contrary to the claims of Strauss and Heine regarding how rationalist Protestantism had become eclipsed as a theological system by the 1830s, Karl Friedrich Paniel, the Lutheran pastor of St. Ansgar's, the oldest church in Bremen, issued an extended apology for rationalism in his 1841 work, *The Various Theological Schools in the Protestant Church of our Time*, in which he portrayed awakened Protestantism as the reappearance of the mystical, fanatical *Schwärmerei* that Luther had vigorously declaimed against three hundred years earlier. Paniel addressed the defense of his faith primarily to its 'modern Pietist' critics, those awakened Protestants who regarded

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 397.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 397.

<sup>18</sup> Heinrich Heine, 'De l'Allemagne depuis Luther, troisième partie', *RDM*, 4 (1834), pp. 653-79 (p. 676).

rationalism as incompatible with their theological tradition.<sup>19</sup> Paniel responded to this criticism by portraying Luther as an antecedent of rationalism. He cited with approval Frederick the Great's comment that 'Pietist theologians' behaved as 'irrational animals' when they insisted that 'every letter of the Bible was God's everlasting truth', especially now that modern scientific explanations of natural phenomena challenged the biblical accounts of miraculous events.<sup>20</sup> Paniel asserted that most awakened Protestants were content merely to topple straw men in their criticisms of rationalist positions, while they denounced rationalism to the laity as 'an apostasy from the gospel and the work of Satan.'<sup>21</sup> Paniel further declared that 'the rational Christian faith' was the only true expression of 'biblical Christianity and Protestantism' in the modern world.<sup>22</sup> 'True rationalist Christians recognise it as their sacred duty to interpret the Holy Scriptures with all the means that reason and scholarship make available to do so. Instead of adhering inflexibly to the dead letters of the Bible, we rationalists examine the spirit of the Holy Scriptures and defend their indubitably religious ideas as God's revealed truths.'<sup>23</sup>

Lastly, in lectures on the recent history of German Protestantism that he delivered in 1842, the University of Basel professor of ecclesiastical history Karl Hagenbach mused over the intra-Protestant theological disagreements that had grown considerably since the late-eighteenth century, as theologians and church leaders contested who the true descendants of the Reformers actually were.

The devout evangelical Christian [*der strenggläubige evangelische Christ*] recognizes in the Reformers the first champions of his faith, the pillars of his Church, the authorities even whose opinions it would be sacrilegious to exceed. The man of the Enlightenment and of progress [*der Mann der Aufklärung, der Bewegung, des Fortschrittes*] appeals to the same Reformers as the friends of light and the enemies of darkness; he sees in them the prophets of liberalism, who did not go far enough themselves, but showed us the way in which we ought to

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<sup>19</sup> Karl Friedrich Paniel, *Die verschiedenen theologischen Richtungen in der protestantischen Kirche unsrer Zeit* (Bremen: Carl Schünemann, 1841), pp. i-ii.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 244.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. i-ii.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 244, p. 262.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp. 262-63.

go. The former bemoan the present when they compare it with bygone days, they cry, 'We have become apostates from the doctrines of our fathers and we are on the path of error', while the later triumphantly reply, 'We have realized that which our fathers had only dreamed of; standing on their shoulders we see the dawning of better age.'<sup>24</sup>

The reflections of Bretschneider, Strauss, Heine, Paniel, and Hagenbach illustrate how a new theological division had come into being within German Protestantism in the later eighteenth century, whose magnitude equaled or exceeded that between the Lutheran and Reformed parties in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During this time, theologians and pastors grappled with how to integrate Enlightenment-era values, ideas, and methods of intellectual inquiry with the Protestant theologies that they had received from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. Despite the impassioned rhetoric, it is important to remember that, unlike a small number of 'radical Enlightenment' criticisms of religion, theirs were debates that pertained to the essence of the Protestant faith and, as such, constituted an intra-Protestant conversation.<sup>25</sup> These debates lay at the heart of how awakened Protestants understood their religious identity and comprehended their religious movement.

This chapter will consider what it meant to awakened Protestants to be 'awakened', and thus distinct from their rationalist opponents, through examples of their historical consciousness.<sup>26</sup> By historical consciousness, I refer to the ways in which awakened Protestants promoted a certain historical understanding of the Awakening movement, which they developed largely through their doctrinal controversies with the rationalists. The preceding chapter placed the early nineteenth-century calls for religious awakening into a long-term historical context by examining the historical development of the concept of religious awakening in German Protestantism during earlier centuries. Building upon that discussion, this chapter will further contextualise the concept of 'awakening' by examining how awakened Protestants conceptualised

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<sup>24</sup> Karl Hagenbach, *Die Kirchengeschichte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts aus dem Standpunkte des evangelischen Protestantismus betrachtet*, I (Leipzig: Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1842), p. 24.

<sup>25</sup> Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Peter Seixas, 'Introduction', in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. by Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 3-23.

religious awakening in terms of opposition to theological rationalism and a reaffirmed commitment to historical orthodoxy.

In order to understand how awakened Protestants defined their religious identity in opposition to rationalist Protestant theology, it is first necessary to appreciate how theological rationalism reflected those eighteenth-century religious developments that German ecclesiastical historians collectively comprehend as the ‘*kirchliche Aufklärung*’ and the ‘*theologische Aufklärung*.’<sup>27</sup> Rationalist Protestants believed that God was guiding the progressive transformation of Christianity. As Wilhelm Teller declared in his 1780 *Dictionary of the New Testament for the Elucidation of Christian Doctrine*, ‘The eternal gospel of God shines brighter at midday, than at dawn...the Christian of the eighteenth century, who has grown up among the many members of a great and respectable nation [i.e. the German people], must be something much more than what the Jews and the heathens were when they were brought together as the first Christian people in the earliest days of the childhood of the religion of the New Testament.’<sup>28</sup>

The notion of there having been a ‘religious Enlightenment’ has developed considerably within Anglophone scholarship during the past ten years. As the University of California at Berkeley professor Jonathan Sheehan noted in a 2003 review essay, the growing awareness of a ‘religious Enlightenment’ has transformed the entire historiographical landscape of Enlightenment studies. It precipitated ‘a revision of the history of secular society’, and ‘sent the very category of the Enlightenment – long defined as a philosophical program whose anti-religious zeal paved the way for our secular present – into great turmoil.’<sup>29</sup> Similarly, David Sorkin has expressed his dissatisfaction with what he has termed the ‘secular master narrative’ of the Enlightenment as being both quintessentially anti-religious. In his 2008 study, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Catholics, and Jews from London to Vienna*,

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<sup>27</sup> Albrecht Beutel, *Aufklärung in Deutschland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2006), pp. 158-59; Wolfgang Gericke, *Theologie und Kirche im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1989), p. 23.

<sup>28</sup> Wilhelm Teller, *Wörterbuch des Neuen Testaments zur Erklärung der christlichen Lehre* (Berlin: August Mylius, 1780), p. xiv.

<sup>29</sup> Jonathan Sheehan, ‘Enlightenment, Religion, and the Enigma of Secularization: A Review Essay’, *AHR* 108 (2003), pp. 1061-80 (p. 1064).

Sorkin articulated three contrary contentions: firstly, that ‘the Enlightenment was not only compatible with religious belief but conducive to it;’ secondly, that ‘the Enlightenment made possible new iterations of faith;’ and thirdly that ‘with the Enlightenment’s advent, religion lost neither its place, nor its authority in European society and culture.’<sup>30</sup> Sorkin’s views readily comport with the older German historiographical tradition regarding the religious Enlightenment within German Protestantism.

The distinguished Jewish philosopher and intellectual historian Ernst Cassirer, who moved to Columbia University after being deprived of his professorship at the University of Hamburg by Nazi state officials, observed in *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung* (1932) how the advent of the religious Enlightenment included a revaluation of the doctrine of Original Sin.

The rejection of the dogma of original sin was the characteristic hallmark of the basic direction of the theology of the Enlightenment, especially as it developed in Germany, where it had its most important proponents. These Enlightened theologians all regarded the idea of an historical original sin, the consequences of which had been inherited by future generations of humanity’s first parents, as absolutely absurd and an affront to the most foundational laws of logic and ethics... While the controversy over the dogma of original sin in France led to the sharpest separation between religion and philosophy, eighteenth-century German Protestants demonstrated that they were capable of essentially transforming their faith through incorporating contemporary trends in philosophy, whereby they either destroyed or abandoned the historical tenets of Protestantism.<sup>31</sup>

Such observations were part of Cassirer’s larger imagination of European religious history since the end of the Middle Ages as a perpetually evolving conflict between what he referred to as the ‘humanism, Pelagianism, and religious universalism’ of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment and the ‘biblical Christianity, Augustinianism, and religious exclusivism’ of the Reformation.<sup>32</sup> Echoing Cassirer, Klaus Scholder observed

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<sup>30</sup> David Jan Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Ernst Cassirer, *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr-Siebeck, 1932), pp. 212-14.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 182-85.

in 1976, that whereas the Enlightenment in England and France had strong anti-ecclesiastical and anti-religious currents, these were largely absent or nonexistent in Protestant Germany, where ‘between 1740 and 1780’ the Enlightenment ‘did not manifest itself against theology and the church, but rather did so with them and through them.’<sup>33</sup>

Other German ecclesiastical historians have drawn attention to similarities between the religion of the Protestant religious Enlightenment and that of Pietism. As Kurt Nowak noted in a 1999 review essay of post-1945 German studies on religious life during the Enlightenment, German scholars have long recognized affinities between the eagerness of the Pietists and the *Aufklärer* ‘to reform church structures, academic theology, and popular piety’, as well as in ‘their shared interests in philosophical anthropology, philology, non-Western cultures, improving pedagogical techniques, medicine and pharmacology, social and political ethics, and *belles lettres*.’<sup>34</sup> Likewise, Johannes Wallmann has argued that two of Pietism’s defining characteristics were its ‘tendencies toward individualization and internalization’ and that in these ways ‘it proceeded along a tract parallel to, yet distinct from, the Enlightenment’, through their mutual departure from the ‘Aristotelian theology of Protestant Orthodoxy and the polemical attitudes of the confessional era.’<sup>35</sup> Mark Pockrandt writes of there having been a ‘*biblische Aufklärung*’ that occurred in Berlin in the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries under the ministries of the successive royal court preachers (father and son) August Friedrich Wilhelm Sack and Friedrich Samuel Gottfried Sack, who sought to hold together, in their words, ‘*wahres Christentum*’ and ‘*wahre Aufklärung*’ over against ‘both the Charybdis of Biblicism and the Scylla of destructive criticism.’<sup>36</sup> Proponents of the Protestant religious Enlightenment were certainly neither hostile

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<sup>33</sup> Klaus Scholder, ‘Grundzüge der theologischen Aufklärung in Deutschland’, in *Aufklärung, Absolutismus, and Bürgertum in Deutschland*, ed. by Franklin Kopitzsch (München: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1976), p. 295

<sup>34</sup> Kurt Nowak, *Vernünftiges Christentum? Über die Erforschung der Aufklärung in der evangelischen Theologie Deutschlands seit 1945* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999), pp. 58-65.

<sup>35</sup> Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1990), p. 27.

<sup>36</sup> Mark Pockrandt, *Biblische Aufklärung: Biographie und Theologie der Berliner Hofprediger August Friedrich Wilhelm Sack (1703-1786) und Friedrich Samuel Gottfried Sack (1738-1817)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003).



towards either religious belief, in general, nor Christianity, in particular. However, the ways that Protestant rationalists taught Christian doctrine and its implications for Christian life and ministry, generated enormous controversies with awakened Protestants who adhered to different religious beliefs.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to analyse fully the German Protestant religious Enlightenment and theological rationalism. Nevertheless, so as to thereby locate the historical development of the awakened historical consciousness in relation to a much larger body of historiographical reflections on changes within German Protestant faith and theology, the second section of this chapter traces the history of the interpretation of the religious Enlightenment and rationalism beginning with their earliest descriptions in the 1780s, when contemporary commentators styled them as a ‘theological revolution’, until the 1820s, when there appeared the first reports of the beginnings of a religious ‘awakening.’ Unless the reports that describe the beginning of an awakening are read in reference to the changes and controversies that were inaugurated by the Protestant religious Enlightenment, awakened Protestants’ accounts of an Awakening taking place appear without a historical context and their highly partisan religious claims are hence very difficult to assess. The background analysis provided in this second section will then enable the third section of this chapter to discuss how awakened Protestants viewed the historical significance of the Awakening and will demonstrate how awakened Protestants were not unique in their reading of eighteenth century religious history, but rather contributed a particular perspective to a larger historiographical discussion.

Finally, history as an academic discipline, of course, lacks both the methodological resources and the interpretative vantage point necessary to actually determine whether or not either an awakening (or, for that matter, an enlightenment, a reformation, or a renaissance), as such, actually took place. However, through an analysis of how such language was contemporarily used, historiographical enquiry can provide insights into the mentalities of the members of religious communities, especially as they described what, to them, were periods of significant cultural change.

## 2.2 'The recent revolution in theology': Early characterisations of the Protestant religious Enlightenment

The religious landscape of German-speaking Europe during the final quarter of the eighteenth century presents us with a complex cultural picture. Indeed, in 1778, Johann August Christoph von Einem, the Lutheran pastor of two small towns in rural Saxony, closed the preface to the third and final volume of his study *An Attempt at a Complete Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century* with the following prayer, 'God, the God of truth, sanctify all of the various efforts that are now being undertaken to improve our understanding of ecclesiastical history. For the sake of the enlightenment in our days of the biblical, Christian religion, I pray that you would remove from these efforts everything that is harmful to your true church. We live in enlightened, yet also dangerous, times.'<sup>37</sup> The sentiment behind Einem's prayer, that Christianity within the Protestant communities of Germany was characterised by conflict between competing visions of the future of the faith, was shared by several of the era's most prominent intellectual figures.

No less an observer of German culture than Johann Wolfgang von Goethe commented on the religious tumult of these times, remarking in his 1812 autobiography about his years as a law student at the University of Leipzig between 1765 and 1768: 'the Christian religion fluctuated between its own historic and positive beliefs and a pure deism.'<sup>38</sup> Goethe described two distinct religious parties, which he compared to butterflies and flowers, and which corresponded to the rationalists and the orthodox/supernaturalists. Just as a juvenile caterpillar undergoes metamorphosis and emerges as a fully formed adult butterfly, Goethe viewed the religious Enlightenment as an analogous phenomenon within the development of German Protestantism, in which he regarded rationalism as the 'organic perfection' of supernaturalist orthodoxy.<sup>39</sup> Alternatively, Goethe expressed admiration for those Protestants, who in their desire to

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<sup>37</sup> Johann August Christoph von Einem, *Versuch einer vollständigen Kirchengeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, III (Leipzig: Weygandschen Buchhandlung, 1778), pp. v-vi.

<sup>38</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit*, II (Tübingen: J.G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1812), p. 291.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292.

adhere to traditional Protestant theology, could be viewed flowers. Just as flowers' roots provide the nourishment that enable their blossoms to bloom, so the beauty of the religion of this second group consisted in their fidelity to the faith of their fathers.<sup>40</sup>

The two types of Protestants of whom Goethe spoke can also be seen in the writings of the famous playwright, literary critic, and philosopher, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, and his Lutheran parish minister father, Johann Gottfried Lessing. In 1767, the elder Lessing prepared an updated version of his *Vindication of the Lutheran Reformation* that he had first published in conjunction with the Reformation bicentenary of 1717, in which he noted how very little contemporary theologians seemed to share with the sixteenth-century reformers.<sup>41</sup> 'In our day there are no longer the cruelties of religious persecution but in their place there has arisen an unrestrained sense of liberty, along with an unashamed insolence, such that men believe that they can speak or write whatever they wish about divine and spiritual things. Unbelief has seized the old throne of superstition and everyone feels that he is just as free to ridicule the Holy Scriptures as he is to read them.'<sup>42</sup>

The elder Lessing died in 1770, and four years later, in 1774, his son began publishing what he referred to as 'Wolfenbüttel fragments of an unknown scholar', six essays entitled: 'Concerning the toleration of the deists', 'Concerning the denunciation of reason from the pulpits', 'The impossibility in there being a revelation, in which all mankind could believe', 'The passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea', 'The books of the Old Testament were not written to reveal a religion', 'Concerning the story of the resurrection', and 'Concerning the object of Jesus and his disciples.'<sup>43</sup> Each of these essays had been written by the then deceased Hamburg Gymnasium teacher, Hermann Samuel Reimarus whose writings the younger Lessing claimed to have discovered in the collections of the Duke of Wolfenbüttel's library, where he worked as the librarian. Publishing these writings embroiled him in a polemical exchange of pamphlets with

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 292.

<sup>41</sup> Karl Gotthelf Lessing, *Gotthold Ephraim Lessings Leben nebst seinem noch übrigen litterarischen Nachlasse*, I (Berlin: Vossischen Buchhandlung, 1793), p. 7, p. 21.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>43</sup> Hermann Samuel Reimarus, *Fragmente des Wolfenbüttelschen Ungenannten*, ed. by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (Berlin, 1784).

Johann Melchior Goeze, the senior minister of one of the largest Lutheran Churches in Hamburg. Reimarus had claimed that it was irrational to believe that the Exodus and the Resurrection had occurred as they are described in the Bible and that none of the authors of the Old and New Testaments nor Jesus himself would recognise modern Christianity as what they had taught. In response to Lessing's publication, Goeze thundered that Lessing was yet another in a recent string of 'enemies and corrupters of the Bible' that included Johann Semler, Johan Basedow, Karl Bahrtdt, Johann Edelman, and Friedrich Nicolai.<sup>44</sup> While the older Lessing had condemned that it was a calumny against Luther to claim that 'he was only the herald, and his reforms merely the dawn, of the coming, universal and consummate reformation of the Church', the younger Lessing employed precisely this argument in his response to Goeze.<sup>45</sup> Lessing suggested that far from being heterodox, he and other proponents of the religious Enlightenment were the true recipients of Luther's mantle. 'Luther, you great, misunderstood man! And by no one more misunderstood than the short-sighted, bull-headed people who, clamoring all the way, merely slavishly follow in your footsteps along the trail which you pioneered! You have freed us from the yoke of tradition: who will free us from the unbearable yoke of the letter? Who will bring us at last a Christianity, the kind which you would teach if you were alive now, one such as Christ himself would teach?'<sup>46</sup>

In his 1780 work, *The Upbringing of the Human Race*, his last major writing before his death the following year, Lessing presented an interpretation of the historical significance of the religious Enlightenment. In the same manner in which parents rear their children, Lessing argued, God had been progressively instructing his people by providentially maturing them through two ages, the ages of the Old and New Testaments. At the present time, God was leading humanity out of the Christian age and into a third age, 'the age of Enlightenment', the age of 'the new eternal gospel', which he claimed had been prophesied in Revelation 14:6. According to Lessing, in this third age, certain former didactic 'truths of revelation', specifically, the doctrines of original

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<sup>44</sup> Johan Melchior Goezen, *Lessings Schwächen*, II (Hamburg: D.A. Harmsen, 1778), pp. 49-50.

<sup>45</sup> Karl Gotthelf Lessing, *Gotthold Ephraim Lessings Leben*, p. 25.

<sup>46</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Eine Parabel: Nebst einer kleinen Bitte, und einem eventuellen Absagungsschreiben an den Herrn Pastor Goeze, in Hamburg* (Braunschweig, 1778), p. 26.

sin, substitutionary atonement, and the triune nature of God, would disappear, as God was now guiding his people beyond these youthful teachings and ‘into the mature truths of reason.’<sup>47</sup>

Contemporary eighteenth-century ecclesiastical historians also emphasised in their interpretations of the recent history of German Protestantism how Protestant faith and theology were changing. In his 1788 work, *An Outline of the History of the Christian Church*, the University of Göttingen professor Ludwig Spittler praised the ‘theological revolution’, that had been led by ‘Johan Semler, Wilhelm Teller, Friedrich Nicolai, and Johan Spalding.’<sup>48</sup> ‘All in all, we have realised extraordinary gains through the revolution of the last thirty years [c.1760-90] and in the future this period will surely be distinguished as one of the brightest eras in the history of the Lutheran church.’<sup>49</sup> Spittler rhetorically asked, ‘At what time has the Lutheran Church ever had so many eloquent, philosophically enlightened, and philologically expert theologians as it has in our time?’<sup>50</sup>

In the same manner, the Lutheran chaplain at the Charité hospital in Berlin, Johann Heinrich Friedrich Ulrich, noted in his lengthy 1782 work, *A History of the Christian Church for Christian Readers from all Social Standings* how, ‘biblical criticism has advanced tremendously in this century’ and that as a result there had transpired, ‘very great changes in the study of sacred philology and exegesis’, ‘a significant change in the dogmatic theology of the Lutheran church’, ‘manifold changes in the articles of our doctrine’, ‘an indisputable change of a very excellent kind in Christian moral theology’, and ‘distinct, excellent changes in the public preaching at worship services.’<sup>51</sup> Ulrich claimed that out of these developments there had emerged a new principle that was used by proponents of religious Enlightenment for evaluating

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<sup>47</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voß, 1780), pp. 66-74, p. 77, pp. 80-81.

<sup>48</sup> Ludwig Spittler, *Grundriß der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1788), pp. 486-87.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 488.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 488.

<sup>51</sup> Johann Heinrich Friedrich Ulrich, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche für christliche Leser aus allen Ständen*, II: *Von der Reformation bis auf unsre Zeiten* (Frankfurt: Johann Philipp Reiffenstein, 1782), pp. 671-75, pp. 681-86.

whether various doctrines were essential articles of faith: did they or did they not promote moral behaviour? Those doctrines that clearly did were retained in the churches, whereas those that did not were dismissed as ‘mere speculations, the vestigial remains of scholastic sophistry, and the words of men.’<sup>52</sup> In order to illustrate more fully how Protestant theology was changing, Ulrich identified fourteen major Reformation-era doctrines that enlightened theologians regarded as having failed this test, and which they now labelled as ‘incomprehensible and useless, not to be taught to children, nor mentioned in public worship services.’<sup>53</sup>

Ulrich maintained that enlightened reformers of Protestantism believed that God had inspired ‘the authors of the Holy Scriptures’, but not every word of the Bible.<sup>54</sup> As a result, the Bible consisted of an admixture of inspired and uninspired materials, whose parsing required the expertise of highly educated exegetes. The work of disentangling the authoritative elements of biblical texts from the unauthoritative ones formed the basis for reconsidering theological dogmas.

Concerning the doctrine of God, Ulrich reported how ‘those who wish to promote an improvement in religion’ taught that it was ‘improper and unbiblical to speak of there being one God in three persons.’<sup>55</sup> Rather, God the Father alone was almighty God. While ‘Jesus was the greatest of God’s messengers’, neither the Son, nor the Holy Spirit, were equal to the Father in the degree of their divinity, especially as ‘the personhood of the Holy Spirit is not taught anywhere in Bible.’<sup>56</sup> Ulrich noted additional departures from historical orthodoxy in how enlightened theologians discussed soteriology. ‘They claim that the former doctrines of original sin and of mankind’s innate inability to do good are both unbiblical and harmful and instead teach that man must first act to improve himself and become good before he can receive the grace and pleasure of God.’<sup>57</sup> Regarding the atonement, ‘They claim that it is false and unbiblical to believe that Christ died on our behalf to make satisfaction for our sins before

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 677.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp. 677-79.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 677.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., pp. 676-78.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 678.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 679.

God...God is not so cruel as to want to be reconciled to us through the blood of Christ, but rather he forgives our sins when we sincerely commit to living more faithfully... The doctrine of the eternal punishment of sinners in hell contradicts both the love of God and reason.’<sup>58</sup> Ulrich observed how enlightened theologians believed that ‘the sacraments are not actually means of conveying grace to us, but are merely external ceremonies that have neither divine power nor effect.’<sup>59</sup> Spittler’s and Ulrich’s contentions regarding the changes in Protestant theology comports with those of a number of contemporary authors.

During the late-1770s, the Lutheran pastor Johann August Urlsperger began to envision a new ecumenical and international Protestant religious society, dedicated to ‘promoting, vindicating, and reviving Christianity in its fundamental purity in knowledge and practice.’<sup>60</sup> Urlsperger had completed his university studies at Halle in 1753 and in 1775 he received an honorary doctorate from the theology faculty at Tübingen for his defense of the ancient Nicene doctrine of the Trinity as a biblical idea.<sup>61</sup> During the sixteen months between August 1779 and November 1780, Urlsperger traveled throughout Bavaria, the Rhineland, the Low Countries, Hannover, and Prussia in search of like-minded Christians to join him in this undertaking.<sup>62</sup>

On 11 April 1780 Urlsperger addressed, in English, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London to inform them how recent developments in German Protestant religious life necessitated a new level of concerted action on the part of those who would ‘build, enlarge and protect the invisible temple of God.’<sup>63</sup> Elaborating on the

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 679.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 679.

<sup>60</sup> Johann August Urlsperger, ‘Etwas zum Nachdenken und zur Ermunterung für Freunde des Reiches Gottes’, in *Die Christentumsgesellschaft in der Zeit der Aufklärung und der beginnenden Erweckung: Texte aus Briefen, Protokollen und Publikationen*, ed. by Ernst Staehelin (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Verlag 1970), pp. 97-99. See also Johann August Urlsperger, *An Address to All Sincere promoters of the Kingdom of God, Resident in England, concerning the Establishment of an association for promoting, vindicating, and reviving Christianity in its fundamental purity in knowledge and practice* (London: 1780), pp. 8-9.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Konrad Kuhn, ‘Johann August Urlsperger’, *BBKL*, XII (1997), 940-943; Georg Christian Knapp, *Vorlesungen über die christliche Glaubenslehre nach dem Lehrbegriff der evaneglichen Kirche*, I (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhaus, 1827), pp. 259-60; Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Systematische Theologie*, I (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1988), p. 317.

<sup>62</sup> Kuhn, ‘Johann August Urlsperger’, 940-41.

<sup>63</sup> Urlsperger, *An Address to All Sincere promoters of the Kingdom of God*, p. 10.

subject of ‘the state of religion and erudition in Germany’, Urlsperger declared that ‘Socianism, Arianism and Freethinking prevail in many provinces’, resulting in the ‘decay of true learning and important knowledge throughout Germany’ and had caused ‘the greatest confusion and the decline of the theological sciences and Christianity.’<sup>64</sup> Despite his serious concerns regarding the ‘great multitude of those who deviate in, and swerve from sound doctrine, and pure morals’, Urlsperger was encouraged by the fact that there ‘yet remain many that strictly adhere to both.’<sup>65</sup> Urlsperger then related how the purpose of his proposed society was to achieve three goals: ‘to establish a salutary intercourse between sincere Christians’, to ‘promote and cultivate among them practical Christianity’, and to ‘then invite everyone without compulsion to participate in these blessings.’<sup>66</sup> One of the ways Urlsperger intended to accomplish these goals was by publishing ‘edifying and pleasing works and treatises’ which ‘are free from party spirits’ and ‘thereby show the right complexion of sound Christianity.’<sup>67</sup>

In 1786 the new ‘Christianity Society’ (*Christentumsgesellschaft*) began publishing a monthly religious periodical, *Collections for the Lovers of Christian Truth and Godliness* (*Sammlungen für Liebhaber christlicher Wahrheit und Gottseligkeit*), and quickly accumulated subscribers from the Black Forest to the Baltic Coast, linking what the church historian Erich Beyreuther has described as ‘the fourth generation of pietism.’<sup>68</sup> Its first issue declared that it was ‘the duty of every Christian to promote pure doctrine and true godliness in the districts in which he lived’ and enjoined readers to pray that these might be spread ‘throughout the entire world so that through Jesus Christ, God the Father would be more widely and more zealously revered.’<sup>69</sup>

The February 1792 issue of the *Collections for the Lovers of Christian Truth and Godliness* contained a poem entitled, ‘The Enlightened Age’, in which the anonymous contributor articulated concerns over the ‘theological revolution’.

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>68</sup> Erich Beyreuther, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Stuttgart: J.F. Steinkopf Verlag, 1978), pp. 331-46.

<sup>69</sup> Johann August Urlsperger, ‘Vorrede’, *SLchWG*, 1 (1786), pp. ii-v (p. iii-v).



What should I do? What should I believe? And in what should I place my trust? They want to rob me of the peace that the Word of the Most High promises to me. That is my life of grief and sorrow in this enlightened age.

Everyone now fashions his own religion just as he desires it. The devil, they say, has been banished, and Christ is not the Son of God. And the Trinity is nonsense in this enlightened age.

The enlightened man follows his passions, which to him are the very doctrines of his faith. What the Word of God requires seems so unbelievable and so severe to him: The Scriptures are only holy for common people and not for this enlightened age.

Baptism and communion are to the enlightened world only foolishness, just like weddings, which, so they say, only exist so that priests can collect their officiating fees. The one who is wise takes a wife and marries according to the ways of this enlightened age.

Thus now our entire enlightened country slumbers in the sleep of sin, because even eternal punishment in hell, has been happily banished from the world and everyone is hoping to receive mercy in this age and in the next.

All the Antichrists write like this, because it pleases their listeners, who are thoughtless. These authors are like the preachers, whom Satan has put in place and through whom the devil wins more souls, than if he were present there himself.

O, what if it were the case that everything that the enlightened men say were true! What then would become of the doctrines of my faith? One doubt that I have that always gnaws away at me is this: If the Scriptures are false in one place, then they are certainly false everywhere.

O, leave me then with my Bible! Leave me in my so-called darkness! Because without hope I am sick in this enlightened age: And without hope I am but an animal, one who is enlightened, but yet suffering still.

So keep quiet, fools! I do not want to hear anything of what you say, spare me from your poison! Let us suppose that even if the things that I read in the Scriptures are fables, even so, this book of fables nonetheless makes me wise unto life and death.

It teaches me to love God and men, to obey the authorities that are over me, and to strive against evil desires; such as lewdness, rage, pride, and covetousness. And as I suffer from my guilt, so does it teach me meekness and patience.

And if I should be laid low by sickness, then, how could I still be at peace? My faith in Jesus will then be victorious and before him all the agonies of death will vanish. It will be quite different for the spirits of enlightened men, who will depart this life in anguish and misery.<sup>70</sup>

Other members of the Christianity Society spoke of the religious Enlightenment in similar terms throughout the 1790s.

Upon reading in a Hamburg newspaper about the foundation of the London Missionary Society in 1795, Baron August von Schirnding wrote a letter to the Society's board of directors to express his support for their evangelistic endeavors at a time when in Germany 'the first principles of Christianity are attacked, disfigured, or renounced, according to men's caprice' and 'the characteristic doctrines of Protestantism are decried as irrational, and their defenders treated with contempt and ridicule.'<sup>71</sup> According to this Saxon nobleman and member of the Moravian Brethren, just as 'Luther, the great reformer, amidst a thousand perils, rising superior to the fear of men confessed, and faithfully defended the doctrines of Christianity', so too in his day it was incumbent upon among those who adhered to 'the pure religion of the Augsburg Confession to preserve it against the artful and violent attacks of its enemies.'<sup>72</sup> What was especially distressing to Schirnding was how opposition to Christian orthodoxy seemed to come from teachers and leaders of the churches.

In ages past, [Christ's] cause was opposed by those who did it ignorantly in unbelief; now, with wilful malice, it is done so by rebellious apostates. When we see infidelity using every effort to ensure that the very name of Christ shall be remembered no more, and that the self-taught reason of corrupted worms is idolised, how can the faithful servant of Christ sleep unconcerned, and not be afflicted with the objects in his view? He knows what has been the fate of nations. Christ will not continue his truth where despised. He has abandoned

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<sup>70</sup> 'Die aufgeklärte Zeit', *SLchWG*, 7 (1792), pp. 65-68.

<sup>71</sup> August von Schirnding, 'An Address to the British Nation', *MM* 1 (1796), pp. 112-16 (pp. 112-13).

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

various parts of the world, and withdrawn his light from numberless churches, when, despising his grace, they have filled up, by their ingratitude and apostasy, the measure of their iniquities.<sup>73</sup>

Schirnding's Jeremiad climaxed with the rhetorical question, 'Has not God sent strong delusions [2 Thessalonians 2:11] even into our pulpits, where men, affecting to be wise above what is written, have changed the truth of God into a lie [Romans 1:25], men without understanding, pretending religion, and full of high thoughts of themselves, who endeavor to cloak infidelity under their embellishments and futile arguments.'<sup>74</sup> He hoped that the London Missionary Society and the creation of similar missionary societies in Germany 'would awaken the life of religion in Christendom and inflame the hearts of many with the love of God our Saviour.'<sup>75</sup>

Reports of the early Protestant missionary activity elicited similar observations from another member of the Christianity Society, Johann Heinrich Jung. During his lifetime, 1740-1817, Jung was well-known for a wide range of accomplishments. As an eye surgeon, he performed some two-thousand cataract operations, most of which he did for poor people free of charge. He lectured on economics and finance as a professor at the Universities of Kaiserslautern, Heidelberg, and Marburg and served as a special councillor of state to the Duke of Baden. He maintained a literary correspondence with Goethe, who so highly esteemed his works that he published Jung's memoirs without his permission. Jung also authored many meditations for use in private religious devotions.<sup>76</sup> After having read several recent reports of religious revivals in America and accounts of the endeavours of English, Dutch, and Moravian missionaries around the world in the Christianity Society's religious periodical, Jung favourably contrasted such news, which

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>76</sup> G. Propach, 'Die Welt des Auges bei Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling (1740-1817)', *Klinische Monatsblätter für Augenheilkunde* 187 (1985), pp. 147-50; F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), pp. 256-65; Max Geiger, *Aufklärung und Erweckung: Beiträge zur Erforschung Johann Heinrich Jung-Stillings und der Erweckungstheologie* (Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1963), pp. 13-38.

greatly pleased his religious sensibilities, with the contemporary Protestant religious life of Germany, which he found rather wanting.<sup>77</sup>

With great excitement, Jung exclaimed in a 27 February 1803 letter to Karl Steinkopf, the minister of a German-speaking Lutheran congregation in London and the former secretary of the Christianity Society, ‘Blessed be the Lord, who causes his vivifying Spirit to move round the globe, from Kentucky to Tahiti, and from Greenland to the Cape of Good Hope! And praised be his name, that, in many places, he raises up men who exert themselves with zeal and fidelity in the cause of the kingdom of God, and unite together for his service!’<sup>78</sup> However, when Jung’s thoughts turned to Germany, they took on a much more sober tone.

Germany is the principal seat of Christendom. Here the greatest Christian Prince resides; here it is that the chief parties, both in philosophy and religion, arose; and here, on the other hand, is likewise the chief seat of Infidelity and Apostasy from Christ. You would scarcely believe to what lengths people have proceeded. In the Prussian and Saxon states, they preach boldly from the pulpits, that to worship Christ is idolatry; and that the redemption of sinners, by his sufferings and death, is nothing but old superstition. Dreadful indeed! Here and there a minister is still to be met with who preaches the truth; but their number decreases more and more; and the apostasy so plainly foretold by the apostle Paul rushes in like a torrent, breaking through all banks [2 Thessalonians 3:3-12]; but God will protect his little flock, and will deliver and preserve us.<sup>79</sup>

Jung believed that he was living close to the end of the world and that, ‘here, in Germany, the beast will soon arise out of the earth, and make common cause with the Man of Sin, the beast out of the bottomless pit, [Revelation 13]. May the Lord help us that we may be found faithful, boldly testifying of the truth, and patiently enduring unto death, that so we may obtain the crown of life!’<sup>80</sup> As grave as he thought the current religious situation then was in Germany, Jung did not believe it was hopeless. He wrote to Steinkopf that positive changes could be facilitated through a partnership between

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<sup>77</sup> ‘Translation of a Letter from Professor Young in Marburg’, *EM*, 11 (1803), pp. 503-06.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 503.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 505-6.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 506.

German and British Protestants through such extra-ecclesiastical religious organisations as the Religious Tract Society and the Christianity Society. ‘It would, doubtless, be a great advantage if true Christians, in England and Germany, would join hand-in-hand and labor in fellowship; and if the German Tracts for edification were extensively circulated in England, and the English Tracts in Germany; by this means, our prayers, in behalf of each other, would be more extended and more effectual, and the work of God be powerfully promoted.’<sup>81</sup>

In the preface to the final volume of his three-volume study, *The History of the Belief in Immortality, Resurrection, Judgment, and Retribution*, the University of Göttingen chaplain Christian Wilhelm Flügge remarked that the study of the history of Protestant dogma at the present time was especially important because of how greatly it was changing. ‘During the last ten years [1790-1800] there has advanced a great revolution in the way of thinking among our theologians and those members of the public who read their writings...It is true that there has grown up among us an entirely new kind of dogmatic theology, but we must not forget that it emerged from the older theology, and even now, it does not entirely betray the sources from which it arose.’<sup>82</sup> In *Letters Concerning Rationalism*, the apology for rationalism that he wrote for an educated lay audience in 1813, the Superintendent of the Lutheran Church in Weimar, Johann Friedrich Röhr, attributed the theological shift to rationalism to a return to the original ethical teachings of Jesus. According to Röhr, Jesus was the greatest rationalist that had ever lived.<sup>83</sup> ‘An extraordinary spirit, an exalted picture of intellectual and moral greatness, the sage of Nazareth began a new age, a spiritual revolution, enlightening, ennobling, improving, and delighting not just the Jewish people, but all mankind, through inaugurating his kingdom of morality.’<sup>84</sup> Röhr warned how at best, ‘the supernaturalist doctrine of the free grace of God through Christ was nonessential to

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 506.

<sup>82</sup> Christian Wilhelm Flügge, *Geschichte des Glaubens an Unsterblichkeit, Auferstehung, Gericht, und Vergeltung*, III (Leipzig: Siegfried Crusius, 1800), p. v.

<sup>83</sup> Johann Friedrich Röhr, *Briefe über den Rationalismus* (Aachen: Joseph Frosch, 1813), pp. 426-28; Erhardt Hansche, *Johann Friedrich Röhr und der theologische Rationalismus* (Lohan: Berlin, 2011), pp. 19-21.

<sup>84</sup> Röhr, *Briefe über den Rationalismus*, pp. 143-44.

the pure religion of Christ', and at worst, it had the latent potential of contradicting Jesus' message by promoting antinomianism.<sup>85</sup>

In his 1805 work, *A Pragmatic History of Theology and Religion in the Protestant Church during the Second-Half of the Eighteenth-Century*, the University of Leipzig professor of theology and the future founding chairman of the Leipzig Bible and Missionary Societies, Johann August Tittmann lamented the religious Enlightenment and the 'fates to which theology and religion have succumbed in this age of theological crisis through the proliferation of a multitude of most different and most contradictory opinions.'<sup>86</sup> Tittman averred that 'since the time of the Reformation, religious scholarship and religion itself have not experienced such great changes as they have since 1750.'<sup>87</sup> He sought to analyse more precisely 'what all of us already well know, that the shifts that have recently occurred in the spheres of the theology and the religion of our church do not merely pertain to a few doctrines or interpretations, but extend to all of our doctrines, and to the foundation of our entire system of Christianity itself.'<sup>88</sup> Eleven years later in his 1816 work, *On Supernaturalism, Rationalism, and Atheism*, Tittman carried his criticisms of Protestant rationalism further and concluded that in its 'opposition to a faith founded on divine revelation', rationalist theology implicitly denied that God had the ability to so communicate and, in this sense, was tantamount to atheism.<sup>89</sup>

In his 1809 *Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*, the Bavarian Roman Catholic theologian Philipp Jakob von Huth, made similar theological judgments as Tittman. 'Between 1750 and 1800, the way of thinking of the Lutheran theologians inclined ever more and more towards a certain independence, one might say a libertinism, which was only very minimally concerned with the sources of God's

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>86</sup> Johann August Tittmann, *Pragmatische Geschichte der Theologie und Religion in der protestantischen Kirche währen der zweyten Hälfte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Breslau: Georg Hamberger, 1805), pp. v-vi.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>89</sup> Johann August Heinrich Tittman, *Ueber Supranaturalismus, Rationalismus, und Atheismus* (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1816) p. x.

revelation. In the sixth decade of this century [1750-1760], the advent of a purely rationalistic theological method among Lutheran scholars began to tear their church in half.<sup>90</sup> Likewise, the University of Göttingen professor of theology Friedrich Stäudlin declared in his 1811 *History of the Theological Sciences* that during the later eighteenth century ‘in all the branches of theology: hermeneutics, dogmatics, apologetics, church history, pastoral theology, and homiletics, there has occurred a great revolution.’<sup>91</sup> Stäudlin analysed the origins of this theological revolution in his 1826 work, *A History of Rationalism and Supernaturalism*. He defined rationalism as ‘the assertions that mankind are led by their reason, and especially by the natural powers of their mind and soul, through the contemplation of nature that surrounds them, to a true knowledge of morality and divinity, and that, therefore, reason has the highest authority and right of judgment in matters of faith and life.’<sup>92</sup> Conversely supernaturalism was said to be ‘the conviction that God has revealed himself supernaturally and immediately’, in the Bible and in miracles.<sup>93</sup>

A unique series of reflections on the German religious life of this period comes from George Ticknor, who came from Boston, Massachusetts and studied at the University of Göttingen between 1815 and 1817. Ticknor was the scion of a wealthy Calvinist New England family, but had converted to Unitarianism during his undergraduate studies at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire several years before he left to study in Europe. Ticknor was a remarkable figure for how he called upon many of the leading intellectual, literary, and political figures of his age. Between February 1815 and June 1819 he visited, among others, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, Lord Byron, William Wilberforce, Sir Walter Scott, Talleyrand, Chateaubriand, and Pope Pius VII. Upon his return to America Ticknor declined

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<sup>90</sup> Philipp Jakob von Huth, *Versuch einer Kirchengeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, II (Augsburg: Peter Bolling, 1809), p. 728.

<sup>91</sup> Carl Friedrich Stäudlin, *Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften seit der Verbreitung der alten Litteratur*, II (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1811), p. 289.

<sup>92</sup> Friedrich Stäudlin, *Geschichte des Rationalismus und Supernaturalismus, vornehmlich in Beziehung auf das Christenthum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1826), p. 3.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

President Thomas Jefferson's offer to teach at his new University of Virginia in order to take up an academic post in belles-lettres at Harvard University.<sup>94</sup>

After travelling widely throughout Germany, visiting Berlin, Dresden, Gotha, Hanover, Jena, Leipzig, Weimar, Wittenberg, and meeting such luminaries as Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt, and the Schlegel brothers between his academic terms at Göttingen, Ticknor made a number of pessimistic observations on early nineteenth-century German religion in his journal. Beginning with 'the peasantry', Ticknor noted that they were religious, but that in his estimation, 'their religion is only a superstition mingled with much honesty and fear.'<sup>95</sup> Moreover, the future religious character of the German peasantry seemed to him to be an open question because of the type of pastoral care which they received. 'Their pastors, formed at the universities, are often unbelievers in any meaning that *we* [Ticknor's emphasis] could give to this term, and for many years it has been the fashion to preach even to the lowest people without piety.'<sup>96</sup> While Ticknor noted that 'this tone is changed a little of late' and that recently 'the preachers are beginning to add unction and even dogma to their discourses', he conjectured that if the overall pattern of preaching were not substantially altered, 'in a few generations, the peasantry will be without religion.'<sup>97</sup>

Ticknor was no more sanguine on the religious condition of the 'middling classes in the Protestant areas of Northern Germany.'<sup>98</sup> As evidence for the lack of religious feeling in urban areas, Ticknor cited low levels of church attendance, infrequent participation in the Lord's Supper, and apathy towards the historic confessions of the German Churches. Based on his contacts with fellow students and their family circles, he recorded how German bourgeois religious feeling had become intensely privatized. 'Where, therefore, if it exists at all, it exists only as a dark and indistinct feeling, as

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<sup>94</sup> George Ticknor, *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, I, ed. by George S. Hillard (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1876), p. 303.

<sup>95</sup> Anna Ticknor and George Ticknor, *Two Boston Brahmins in Goethe's Germany: The Travel Journals of Anna and George Ticknor*, ed. by Thomas Adam and Gisela Mettele (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), p. 79.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.



something which has no connection with society, except so far as it is shown in honesty in common life, as a sentiment which is very rarely talked about and which, if it be cherished at all, is cherished as a kind of mystery between the heart and God.’<sup>99</sup> Ticknor immediately qualified this statement by delimiting it as a characterization of only ‘those persons who have a considerable degree of refinement and sentiment’, those who, on such grounds, were distinct from the rest of the ‘commercial’ and ‘learned’ men of the middle classes, who either ‘reject or utterly neglect and forget religion.’<sup>100</sup>

Ticknor reserved his most cynical commentary for the royal leaders of the post-Napoleonic era. ‘In the highest class of all it is nothing new to say there is no religion known.’<sup>101</sup> While exempting Franz II of Austria, Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia, and Friedrich August I of Saxony as ‘good men’, who had the misfortune to preside over courts filled with those engaging in sexual infidelities and luxurious dissipations, Ticknor asserted that in such circumstances, ‘the most that can be desired or done is not to introduce a serious religion but to hide the contempt of it from the lower classes by a partial observance of its forms. In consequence of this, most of the courts of Germany go to church once a day on Sunday, nearly as regularly as they go to the play every other day; but no more of the nobility accompany it than are obliged to attend on the King.’<sup>102</sup>

Thus completing his survey of the religious landscape of Germany according to its socio-economic strata, Ticknor remarked upon the existence of a small group of Protestants who were going against the prevailing cultural current of ‘general indifference to religion and the habit of regarding it merely politically or philosophically’, ones who he said ‘cherish religion as a secret mystery.’<sup>103</sup> This was the compliment Ticknor paid to the students of ‘Schleiermacher of Berlin.’<sup>104</sup> Ticknor saw Schleiermacher as something of a prophet in the wilderness, one who had embraced the difficult errand of trying to convince the most educated and literate sections of German society to reconsider their waning interest and participation in organised religion. While

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

he praised Schleiermacher as ‘a man of extraordinary powers’, he confessed that Schleiermacher’s Platonism had ‘rendered his style of writing and teaching almost unintelligible.’<sup>105</sup> Indeed, Ticknor admired their evident religious earnestness but could not understand the precise nature of Schleiermacher and his students’ religious commitments as they spoke ‘a language that was as unintelligible to me as the unknown tongue of St. Paul’s converts [i.e. glossalia].’<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless, according to Ticknor, it was from Schleiermacher’s coterie, ‘chiefly that a reform in the Protestant Religion of Germany is hoped, for they are nearly the only class among the Protestants who have any deep and serious feeling in religion and at the same time an *Espirit de Corps* among them, which may enable them to act with force.’<sup>107</sup>

To be sure, the accuracy of Ticknor’s perceptions of German religious life are limited by both the social circles within which he moved and the relatively short period of time that he lived in Germany. Indeed, he appears to have been ignorant of the activities of the two significant groups that were working to promote religious revival in Germany at this time, the Moravian Brethren and the Christianity Society (*Christentumsgesellschaft*). However, his observations and reflections on German religious life from an outsider’s perspective are broadly congruous with the concerns of numerous contemporary German clergymen, church officials, and academics.

### **2.3 ‘The newly awakened religious life’: Early characterisations of the Awakening movement**

Beginning in the 1820s, Protestants began to report the occurrence of a religious awakening in Germany and to seek to explain its historical origins. In 1821, Schleiermacher issued a revised third edition of his *Speeches on Religion to the Cultured among its Despisers*.<sup>108</sup> In his long third speech, Schleiermacher had originally addressed the problem of why in 1799 there were so few people who practiced the

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>108</sup> Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Über die Religion: Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*, ed. by Karl Schwarz (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1868), p. 1.

higher kind of religious life which he had been describing up to this point in his speeches, as well as what needed to be done in order to effect ‘the rebirth of religion’ in in German society.<sup>109</sup> Twenty-two years after writing these words, Schleiermacher appended a lengthy footnote to this speech in which he emphatically stated that no one should confuse ‘the appearances of awakened religious life, which are now so prevalent, especially in Germany, as the fulfilment of the hopes that I had spoken of here.’<sup>110</sup>

Schleiermacher then proceeded to express his many frustrations with ‘our new Pietists.’<sup>111</sup> He declaimed against ‘their anxious listening for the specific wording of religious expressions, whereby they label one man white and the other black; their indifference to great world events; the aristocratic narrow-mindedness of some; and their universal apprehension to modern scholarship.’<sup>112</sup> In his mind, such habits were indicative of ‘a deeply rooted, pathological condition, which must be treated with great love, yet strict firmness, if such an awakened religious life is not to bring more harm to society than it brings spiritual benefits to individuals.’<sup>113</sup> At best, Schleiermacher could concede that ‘such an austere manner of piety’, might be the only means by which ‘the lowly in society could be awakened from their brutishness and the exalted in society from their worldliness.’<sup>114</sup> Schleiermacher hoped that the newfound religious zeal of awakened Protestants would mellow over time and that they would then ‘transition to a freer kind of spiritual life.’<sup>115</sup>

The developments which Schleiermacher characterised as part of ‘the awakened religious life’ also came to the attention of Ferdinand Christian Baur, who was then a young lecturer in the theological faculty at the University of Tübingen in Württemberg. Baur is best remembered as one of the founders of the Tübingen School of New Testament criticism, but during the 1827-28 academic year, he gave a series of lectures on the history of Christianity, from its earliest times to the present day. In his

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

commentary on the eighteenth century, Baur spoke ill of the Protestant religious Enlightenment in Germany and suggested that it had a nefarious intellectual pedigree. 'The origins of the rationalists in Germany can be traced back through the atheists and naturalists in France to the deists of England.'<sup>116</sup> Baur claimed that rationalism had so pervaded German Protestantism during the previous century that Germany had become 'the very seat of a new kind of unbelief.'<sup>117</sup>

In contrast to these developments in Germany, Baur marvelled at how 'an awakened religious zeal has reappeared in England in the great institutions that have been founded there for the promotion of Christianity.'<sup>118</sup> Hereby, Baur referred to the numerous 'missionary societies and Bible societies that have appeared in our time', first in Britain and then in Germany.<sup>119</sup> In Baur's estimation, 'in the entire history of the Christian Church' there had 'never been organisations such as these', ones which were distinguished by 'their origins in a newly awakened interest in religion and Christianity and the unprecedented purity of their motives' to promote adherence to Christian beliefs in Europe and around the world.<sup>120</sup> Baur asked his auditors to reflect on these societies' three principal achievements. 'They extended the boundaries of Christendom in all directions, reinvigorated the religious life in the oldest Christian lands, and stimulated a common set of religious interests among Christians from the most different religious parties and countries.'<sup>121</sup>

August Tholuck was one of the most prominent proponents of these societies and of the 'awakened religious life' that they promoted. According to Karl Barth, Tholuck was the greatest academic theologian of the Awakening movement.<sup>122</sup> Born in Breslau in 1799 the son of a goldsmith, he travelled from his native Silesia to Berlin and

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<sup>116</sup> Ferdinand Christian Baur, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche*, IV: *Kirchengeschichte der neueren Zeit von der Reformation bis zum Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Verlag und Druck von L. Fr. Fues, 1863), p. 677.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 678.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 676.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 676.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 676.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., pp. 676-77.

<sup>122</sup> Leopold Witte, *Das Leben Doktor Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck's*, I (Leipzig: Velhagen and Klasing, 1884), p. 177.

matriculated at the university there in 1818 to study theology, having previously studied Arabic and Persian at the university in his home city. In his valedictory address upon graduation from his Gymnasium, Tholuck spoke on 'How the Arabs brought about the *Bildung* of Europe', in which he favourably contrasted Islam with Christianity.<sup>123</sup> However, soon after moving to Berlin, Tholuck became deeply committed to Protestant faith through an experience of religious awakening that he had while participating in the group that met for prayer and Bible study around Baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz.<sup>124</sup> Tholuck later recounted the change in his religious life at a university celebration held in his honor in Halle in 1870.

When I was sixteen years old, I began to ponder the question: What is the purpose of the life of man? As I thought about this, I understood that before knowing what the purpose of human life was and then how accordingly I ought to live, there would first have to occur a transformation within my inner being. But what kind of change was the right one? This too was the question of my life. Then God led me to an old man [Baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz] in whose form Jesus Christ appeared to me. Thereafter, I knew how I had to become and what I needed to do. From this moment forwards and ever after my life has had its solutions to these questions: I have only one passion and it is Him, only Him. Indeed, I consider it to be a miracle how since that time this passion has filled my heart. Everyone whom I have met, who has not known about Christ, I have seen as a fortress to be conquered, to be stormed in the name of Jesus Christ. From the very beginning of my academic career, from even before I was a *Privatdozent*, I have had this drive and desire in my heart.<sup>125</sup>

Following his personal experience of awakening, Tholuck became active in the new religious societies. In the autumn of 1818, he began to tutor a number of English, German, and Danish students who were studying in the world's first Protestant missionary training institute in Berlin, under the leadership of the Czech Moravian minister, Johann Jänicke.<sup>126</sup> In 1821, Tholuck became a director of the Central Prussian

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<sup>123</sup> Peter Maser, 'Orientalische Mystik und evangelische Erweckungsbewegung, eine biographische Studie zu Briefen von und an F.A.G. Tholuck', *ZRGG*, 33 (1981), pp. 221-49 (p. 223); Philip Schaff, 'Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck', *NSH*, 11 (1953), pp. 420-21.

<sup>124</sup> Witte, *Das Leben Tholuck's*, p. 113.

<sup>125</sup> August Tholuck, 'Ansprache des Herrn Dr Tholuck', *Dr. Tholuck's fünfzigjähriges Jubiläum am 2. December 1870 Erinnerungsblätter für Freunde* (Halle: Julius Fricke, 1871), pp. 10-11.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

Bible Study. From 1823, he was the Berlin representative of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews, and in 1824, he became one of the co-founders of the Berlin Society for the Mission to the Heathen.<sup>127</sup>

From an early age, Tholuck was recognised as a philological prodigy; his first biographer claimed that he was able to read nineteen ancient and modern languages.<sup>128</sup> The University of Breslau professor Johann Scheibel recommended Tholuck for a professorial chair at the University of Dorpat (now Tartu University in modern-day Estonia) in 1818, after only his fifth semester at university. He urged Tholuck to accept the position: ‘You are not only a young man whom God has awakened to repentance and who has received his forgiveness, but you are one whom he has equipped with the gift of tongues (1 Cor. 12)...Russia is pleading, pleading for salvation from rationalism.’<sup>129</sup> Dorpat ultimately declined to appoint someone so young and Tholuck continued his studies in Berlin, where on 2 December 1820 he was awarded his doctorate and simultaneously received the right to begin offering lectures as a *Privatdozent*.<sup>130</sup> For his thesis, Tholuck wrote a comparative study of the theosophies of several Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Islamic mystics from the Sufi tradition, in recognition of which the University of Jena made him an honorary professor on 22 April 1822.<sup>131</sup> Indeed, as Hans-Martin Barth has observed, Tholuck admired the Sufi’s mystical meditations as examples of the highest kind of human thought about God apart from the special revelation of the Old and New Testaments.<sup>132</sup>

Tholuck continued to lecture as a *Privatdozent* at the University of Berlin until he was promoted to the rank of an extraordinary professor of theology on 25 April 1823. Shortly after, Tholuck wrote to Baron Karl vom Stein zum Altenstein, the first minister

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<sup>127</sup> Martin Kähler, ‘Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck’, *RE*, V (1885), 560-68.

<sup>128</sup> Witte, *Das Leben Tholuck's*, p. 26, p. 164. Witte states that in addition to German, Tholuck knew Latin, Greek, French, English, Dutch, Hungarian, Polish, Danish, Swedish, Russian, Spanish, Ethiopian, Arabic, Hebrew, Chinese, Armenian, Syriac, Sanskrit, and Persian.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>132</sup> Hans-Martin Barth, ‘Du, Gott, bist nur dir bekannt! Islamische Mystik im Urteil des evangelischen Erweckungstheologen August Tholuck’, in ‘*Geglaubt habe ich, deshalb habe ich geredet: Festschrift für Andreas Bsteh zum 65. Geburtstag*’, ed. by Adel Khoury and Gottfried Vanoni (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1998), pp. 40-62 (pp. 48-49).

of the Prussian state's newly established Ministry for Ecclesiastical, Educational, and Medical Affairs, to ask for financial support to undertake an academic research trip to Holland, England, and France.<sup>133</sup> In his letter of 24 June 1823 Tholuck described how as well as examining rare Islamic manuscripts held in university libraries in Leiden, Oxford, and Paris, he wished to tour Western Europe in order 'to familiarise myself with the condition of Christianity and theology prevailing in these countries'.<sup>134</sup> In particular, Tholuck expressed his desire to visit those French Protestants in Paris, 'among whom a new evangelical life has awakened' (*ein neues evangelisches Leben erwacht*) and to travel to London to 'investigate the manifold organisations and expressions of religious life', that had recently appeared in Britain.<sup>135</sup>

In July, while waiting for his answer from Altenstein, Tholuck published his most popular work, a semi-autobiographical novel based on his experience of religious awakening, *Die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhner, oder die wahre Weihe des Zweiflers*. This work which appeared in six German editions between 1823 and 1839 and was later published in English translation in London in 1836 and in Boston in 1854 as *Guido and Julius, or, Sin and the Propitiator: Exhibited in the True Consecration of the Sceptic*. In the novel two friends discuss developments in their religious lives as they study history, philosophy and theology at university, which was loosely based on a correspondence that Tholuck had had with Julius Müller, who taught at Göttingen and Marburg before also becoming a professor of theology at Halle.<sup>136</sup> With its numerous unexplained allusions to figures from Classical literature, lengthy quotations of Greek and Latin texts in the original languages, and citations of ancient Church Fathers and modern Western philosophers, Tholuck's novel was clearly directed to a highly educated audience.

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<sup>133</sup> Witte, *Das Leben Tholuck's*, p. 213.

<sup>134</sup> August Tholuck, *Sufismus sive theosophia persarum* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1821); Witte, *Das Leben Tholucks*, p. 354.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 354.

<sup>136</sup> Tholuck dedicated the seventh German edition of his work to Julius Müller. August Tholuck, *Die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhner, oder die wahre Weihe des Zweiflers* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1851), p. xiii.

In the preface, Tholuck situated the two students' personal experiences of religious awakening within a larger historical context, comparing the nineteenth-century Awakening with the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation and suggesting that the Awakening represented 'a struggle of spirits in the religious sphere perhaps such as there has never been since the days of the Apostles.'<sup>137</sup>

Jesus Christ, yesterday and today and the same forever! When the sacred flame of the Christian faith was languishing under hazy clouds of deluded belief, when the people of God lay in the darkness of the night, when everything living appeared to have died and everything spiritual appeared to have become worldly, and when Rome's rulers laughed over the graves those who belonged to their church, but whom they had trampled to death, there then rang out from the lips of him who is yesterday and today, 'Awake, you who are sleeping!' and the great giant's body rose from its long sleep and felt new power go through its veins and a breath from beyond stirred its dead heart. The Church of Christ had overcome the first death and had tasted the first resurrection. However, three hundred years later judgment once again descended over the world. Life had been reduced into a concept and the spirit had become but a breath of wind. With veiled faces the disciples fled from the despised cross and with a laugh of derision the prince of darkness cried out 'all is finished' over all the earth. The fields sighed for rain and the deer longed for fresh springs of water. And he who is today and yesterday said, 'Death, where is your sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Jerusalem! Lift up your eyes and look around at all those who have come to you. As surely as I live, says the Lord, you shall be adorned with all these as a bride is with her jewels, for your dead shall live! And the Church of Christ overcame the second death and celebrated the second resurrection. Who would deny that we are now living in this day of resurrection?'<sup>138</sup>

While Tholuck enthusiastically welcomed with his florid prose what he interpreted as the signs of a new religious awakening in Germany, he nonetheless maintained a critical stance toward the movement. 'The doctrines of orthodox Christology and praise for our historic faith are once again heard from our pulpits and university lecterns', he observed, 'but is this the same as hearing the proclamation that our redeemer who had died is now

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<sup>137</sup> August Tholuck, 'Vorwort zur ersten Auflage', in *Die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhner Die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhner, oder die wahre Weihe des Zweiflers* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1851), p. vi.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., pp. v-vi.



alive again? If here and there a prince or other ruler comes forward to defend Christianity, is he not often acting this way for political reasons and not out of his concern for the gospel?’<sup>139</sup> Tholuck imagined the Awakening as an event within the life of German Protestantism in which God was intervening to purify Protestant churches from the errors of rationalist theology into which they had fallen. By suggesting that the Awakening was an equivalent event to the Reformation, Tholuck encouraged awakened Protestants to conceive of their religious identity in terms of a grand historical drama.

In January 1825, Tholuck’s travel request was approved by Baron Stein and that May he attended annual meetings of various Bible, missionary, and religious tract societies in London as well as that of the Continental Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge of over the Continent of Europe in London, which he addressed on the subject of recent developments in German religious life.<sup>140</sup> Earlier in their proceedings, members of the Continental Society had discussed a letter they had received from one of the Moravian Brethren preachers in the Kingdom of Hannover whom they financially supported. He related how, while there were several groups of ‘awakened souls, some true Christians’ in that country, most of the Hanoverian clergy held different religious beliefs.<sup>141</sup> He lamented that the majority of the local ministers generally did not ‘make the Bible the foundation of their preaching’, ‘wished to explode the doctrine of the atonement altogether’, and denied the existence of the devil.<sup>142</sup> Tholuck, who addressed the members of the Continental Society in English, informed them that the religious conditions in his native Silesia and in Brandenburg, where he had resided for the past eight years, were rather similar to how the Moravian evangelist had described them to be in Hannover. ‘The Continent upon the whole, lies in the darkness of the enlightening of which they boast.’<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., pp. vi-vii.

<sup>140</sup> Continental Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge over the Continent of Europe, *Proceedings of the Seventh Year, 1824-1825*, ed. by Francis Ellaby (London: A. Macintosh, 1825), pp. 41-43.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

Tholuck began his remarks by speaking disparagingly, quite possibly for rhetorical effect, of the quality of the religious education that he had received while studying in the *Gymnasium* in his native Breslau. ‘I can say, in truth, that until my seventeenth year, I was neither acquainted with any vital Christians, nor had I ever heard that there were such persons.’<sup>144</sup> He claimed that ‘our religious teacher did not give us any higher idea of Christianity than of the religion of Homer or Herodotus. Christ was, according to him, a good man, but somewhat enthusiastic. However, Deism is a poor religion, consisting of a few abstract truths, on which not much is to be said, and therefore the teachers were often in want of subjects for their instructions.’<sup>145</sup> Tholuck likewise found fault with the kind of instruction he claimed was prevalent in the theological faculty at the University of Halle, to which he was appointed the ordinary professor of theology the following year in 1826. ‘In many places it is not a question, whether you may find a true or a corrupt Christianity, but whether there is any Christianity at all. The university of Prussia to which the greatest part of the students in theology are sent, Halle, and from which professor Francke once disseminated true religion throughout Germany, is now the seat of infidelity.’<sup>146</sup> Tholuck decried how ‘several of its professors continue from year to year to teach the five to six hundred students of divinity who study there that Christ was a man, like the rest of his race, led, in some degree, by Divine Providence, and in some degree by enthusiastic notions. If such are the instructions given to the future ministers of the flock, how can the flock be guided in the way of truth?’<sup>147</sup>

Yet in spite of what he described as ‘the gross darkness of the continent’, Tholuck remained optimistic concerning the future of German Protestant churches - because of the number of regional ‘revivals’ that he claimed were occurring, especially under the leadership of a couple dozen Pomeranian aristocrats on their large estates. ‘I can testify that the state of things is continually improving; and that evidently by the special blessing of God. I cannot point out any individual, or any place, from which the

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

light particularly arises; although individuals are made instrumental in the hand of God, yet so many and such different persons are raised up that it would be difficult to say to whom the greatest share in the work is to be ascribed.’<sup>148</sup> Tholuck was particularly sanguine about the new generation of clergy. ‘Although the majority of our clergy are more or less given to unbelief, still a new body is springing up in our young clergy... There are many of these, who are truly influenced by the Spirit of God, and who knowing that there is no salvation but in Christ, desire to go and fully proclaim the Gospel.’<sup>149</sup>

Tholuck situated the individual’s struggle to awaken from sin and unbelief within a larger, indeed cosmic, narrative about a spiritual war for the soul of Western civilization.<sup>150</sup> Between 1831 and 1833, Tholuck published fifteen historical studies of Christian apologists from England, Scotland, France, and Germany in the *Literarischer Anzeiger*, an academic theology journal that he edited in Halle.<sup>151</sup> The central theme running through all the studies was that the Enlightenment had been an intellectual movement advanced by ‘unruly spirits’, whose ‘insolence and unbelief’ had ‘first poisoned England, then France, and finally Germany’, but yet throughout these years, God had repeatedly raised up pastors and theologians ‘to wield the sword of the Spirit [Ephesians 6:17] against such enemies of Christianity’.<sup>152</sup>

In a final installment of his interpretation of the intellectual history of the eighteenth century, Tholuck published in 1838 *An outline of the catastrophe which has occurred in German theology since 1750*.<sup>153</sup>

In France, but no less so than in Protestant England, unbelief has become dominant in the upper classes, while from sometimes pure and other times impure motives, it has been the clergy, who, with varying degrees of skill, have

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>150</sup> Hans-Martin Kirn, ‘Umkämpfter Glaube – unkämpfte Geschichte: August Tholuck als Kirchenhistoriker’, *PuN*, 27 (2001), pp. 118-46 (pp. 120-24)

<sup>151</sup> August Tholuck, ‘Ueber Apologetik und ihre Litteratur’, in *Vermischte Schriften grösstentheils apologetischen Inhalts*, I (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1839), pp. 150-373.

<sup>152</sup> Tholuck, ‘Ueber Apologetik und ihre Litteratur’, p. 347, p. 362.

<sup>153</sup> August Tholuck, ‘Abriss einer Geschichte der Umwälzung, welche seit 1750 auf dem Gebiete der Theologie in Deutschland statt gefunden’, in *Vermischte Schriften grösstentheils apologetischen Inhalts*, II (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1839), pp. 1-147.

taken up the defense of Christianity. To the contrary, in Germany since the middle of the preceding century, unbelief in the foundational truths of Christianity developed chiefly among the clergy, who did not recognize that this tendency is undermining the very foundations of our ecclesiastical institutions.<sup>154</sup>

Tholuck traced the various streams of intellectual influence that had acted upon the German professoriate and pastorate from the philosophy of Christian Wolff, to English deism, to French naturalism and atheism to what he considered the rationalistic biblical exegesis of Johann Semler. He concluded that such historical analysis epitomised ‘the transition from the era of faith in the German church to the era of its denial’. However, he still held out hope that the Awakening movement would continue to increase its influence upon academic theology to such a degree ‘that one day, the history will be written of how faith overcame all these expressions of doubt in academic dress’.<sup>155</sup>

Tholuck’s conclusions concerning the beginning of a religious awakening were endorsed by his colleague, the professor of Old Testament at the University of Berlin, Ernst Hengstenberg. Writing in the 28 July 1827 edition of the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, the academic religious periodical which he had founded that same month, Hengstenberg remarked how, ‘In the last ten years [1817-1827] an important development in the religious life of our age has taken place. There has appeared throughout all of Germany, a series of champions of the faith [*Glaubensverfechter*] who in our modern times, have challenged rationalism [*Rationalismus*] and demonstrated it to be un-Protestant [*unevangelisch*].’<sup>156</sup> Hengstengberg’s observations pertaining to recent changes in the contemporary German theological landscapes were independently endorsed in Hamburg that same year by Martin Hieronymus Hudtwalcker, a senator and member of the patrician class of the Free and Hanseatic City at the mouth of the Elbe.

During the mid-1820s critics of both the Lower Saxon Society for the Distribution of Christian Devotional Literature (*Niedersächsische Gesellschaft zur*

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<sup>154</sup> Tholuck, ‘Abriss einer Geschichte der Umwälzung’, p. 1.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p. 147.

<sup>156</sup> Ernst Hengstengberg, ‘Die Leipziger Disputation und die dahin gehörigen Schriften, eine wichtige Zeiterscheinung’, *EKZ*, 1 (1827), pp. 57-77 (p. 57); Wolfgang Kramer, ‘Ernst Wilhelm Hengstengberg, die Evangelische Kirchenzeitung und der theologische Rationalismus’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Erlangen, 1972), pp. 6-19.

*Verbreitung christlicher Erbauungsschriften*), and of the *Messenger of Peace* (*Der Friedensbote*), a popular religious periodical that had been published in Hamburg since 1821, accused them of promoting ‘*Mysticismus*’ and ‘*religiöse Schwärmerey*’ among vulnerable people. Their opponents argued that their publications were responsible for an increase in the number of admittances to the city’s lunatic asylum and a rise in suicides.<sup>157</sup> In his rebuttal of such charges, Senator Hudtwalcker explained the significance of the ‘reawakened religiosity’, of these publications.<sup>158</sup>

During the last 10 years [1817-1827] or so a very important reaction has taken place against those views that had become dominant among theologians during the last 30 to 40 years of the preceding century [1760-1800]. I speak of those who only wanted to retain from Christianity what is commonly called natural religion (or deism) and morality and who rejected definitively and fought against the older view that Christianity, in a miraculous way, reveals several chapters in the history of a higher, spiritual realm, without which we would otherwise know nothing. This reaction has not only happened among the theologians; rather, independently from any stimulus originating from the theologians, the reaction may be seen simultaneously among people of all classes, especially in those belonging to the younger generation. The adherents of this view maintain that the dogmas and mysteries, which characterised the old Lutheranism, are founded in the Bible, and that they cannot be interpreted away without doing great violence to the same, and that in so far as Christianity declares itself to be a divinely revealed religion, one must either renounce it entirely or turn back to it.<sup>159</sup>

Hengstenberg’s and Hudtwalcker’s opinions were echoed by two Anglophone scholars, one an American Presbyterian and the other an Anglican, who had previously studied in German universities and too likened the nascent Awakening with the Reformation. Robert Patton was an 1817 graduate of Yale College, who attended the University of Göttingen from 1819-21, before becoming the professor of languages at

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<sup>157</sup> Ingrid Lahrsen, *Zwischen Erweckung und Rationalismus: Hudtwalcker und sein Kreis* (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig, 1959), pp. 71-76.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>159</sup> Martin Hudtwalcker, *Ueber den Einfluß des sogenannten Mysticismus und der religiösen Schwärmerey auf das Ueberhandnehmen der Geisteskrankheiten und des Selbstmordes, besonders in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1827), pp. 13-14.

Princeton University in 1825.<sup>160</sup> Writing in 1827, he praised the great academic achievements of German theology, ‘the indefatigable research which has ransacked every nook and corner of the ancient and modern world, to elucidate the language, idioms and allusions of the ‘Book of Books’, which has rescued from worms and dust, examined, appreciated and collated the sacred manuscripts which, for centuries, had been doomed to the silence and oblivion of the cloister.’<sup>161</sup> Yet at the same time he lamented over ‘the presumptuous ardour of thought, the misapplied learning, the injudicious zeal, the looseness of sentiment, and the consequently low state of piety and morals which, since the middle of the last century [1750], have marred the fairest portions of intellectual Germany.’<sup>162</sup> Despite his sombre attitude, Patton was encouraged by what he perceived in the works of a new generation of German theologians to be ‘a wholesome reaction, a consciousness of a corroding disease gnawing at the vitals, a strengthening of the things that remain [Revelation 3:2], an inflexible purpose of amendment, a returning to the doctrines of ‘the great God and our Saviour [Titus 2:13]’, which the pious Reformers – their professed exemplars – so sedulously taught.’<sup>163</sup>

Similarly, in the conclusion to his 1828 work, *An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character Lately Predominant in the Theology of Germany*, which appeared in the same year that he was appointed the Regius Professor of Hebrew at the University of Oxford, Edward Pusey reflected on the theological developments that he had witnessed during his visits to the Universities of Göttingen, Berlin, and Bonn between 1825 and 1827.<sup>164</sup> ‘Theology in Germany was the last department which felt the influence of the inroads of unbelief, so likewise has it naturally been the first to recover itself... There is a rich promise, that the already commenced blending of belief and science, without which science becomes dead, and

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<sup>160</sup> Thomas Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746-1896* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 160; Karl Ortseifen et al eds., *Americans on the Rhine: A Selection of Travel Accounts* (Tübingen: Franke Verlag, 1993), p. 26.

<sup>161</sup> Robert Patton, ‘Preface’ in August Tholuck, *Hints on the Importance of the Study of the Old Testament*, trans. Robert Patton (Princeton: Princeton Press, 1827), p. iii.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. iii.

<sup>163</sup> Patton, ‘Preface’, p. iv.

<sup>164</sup> Henry Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, I (London: Longmans, 1894), pp. 70-107.

belief is exposed to degeneracy, will be perfected beyond even the degree to which it was realized in some of the noblest instruments of the earlier Reformation.’<sup>165</sup> Pusey regarded these developments in academic theology as integral to the religious character and endeavours of the Awakening movement more generally. ‘It seems neither too sanguine nor presumptuous to hope that the time is not far distant when the religious energy, now widely visible in Germany, shall produce its fruits, and the Evangelical Church, strengthened by the increasing internal unanimity, fortified against error by past experience, and founded on Scriptural faith, shall again, in religious as well as scientific depth, be at least one amongst the fairest portions of the universal Church of the Redeemer.’<sup>166</sup>

The awakened Protestant reading of the recent religious history of Germany was not only limited to academic circles. In his popularly-pitched 1834 *Church History for Schools and Families* the Württemberg pastor Christian Gottlob Barth promoted similar views among a larger lay audience. This introductory work on ecclesiastical history was widely used as an evangelistic resource by evangelists within Europe and missionaries around the world. Within two generations of its initial publication it was translated for these purposes into Arabic, English, Finnish, French, Dutch, Greek, Hindi, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Norwegian, Swedish, Syriac, Tibetan, Turkish, Welsh, and several other African and south-east Asian languages.<sup>167</sup> According to Barth during the eighteenth century ‘two of the central tenets of Christianity, the divinity of Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the redemption that he achieved on the cross were attacked in Germany’, while ‘the majority of the teachers of the gospel doubted these in their hearts and often denied them from their pulpits.’<sup>168</sup> Then after the trials of the Napoleonic wars, Jesus was said to have ‘rescued Germany from unbelief and returned many princes, state

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<sup>165</sup> Edward Pusey, *An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character Lately Predominant in the Theology of Germany* (London: C. Rivington, 1828), pp. 176-79.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-79.

<sup>167</sup> Christian Gottlob Barth, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte für Schulen und Familien* (Calw: Calwer Verlags-Verein, 1836). Marina Lahmann, ed. *Der Calwer Verlagsverein: Literatur aus Calw für alle Welt* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1999), p. 4.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

officials, scholars, preachers, rich and poor to faith', acting through the 'Bible and missionary societies which have excited fresh life in many places.'<sup>169</sup>

Such sentiments were reiterated during the winter of 1846 by the Swiss ecclesiastical historian Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigné in four addresses to the members of *Société évangélique de Genève* about his recent travels in Germany, England, and Scotland to promote 'closer bonds of union' between like-minded Protestants in these countries.<sup>170</sup> He reflected upon the impressions of Germany that he had received nearly thirty years earlier. After completing his education at the Academy of Geneva, d'Aubigné travelled to Germany for the first time in 1817 for further theological studies at the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin and was among the crowd of students who attended the Reformation festival at the Wartburg Castle on 18 October. D'Aubigné juxtaposed his own recent religious conversion experience with how greatly he had been 'stunned, almost overwhelmed by the tempest of rationalism and infidelity that was then raging', in Germany.<sup>171</sup> D'Aubigné recalled how 'every theological journal I read, every book I looked into, and almost every one, both ministers and laymen whom I met were affected with rationalism, so that the poison of infidelity was present to me on all sides.'<sup>172</sup> Especially distressing to d'Aubigné was the 'gnostic' and 'pantheistic' Hegelian philosophy he encountered in Berlin that 'denied the personality of God, the personality of Christ, and the personality of man after death.'<sup>173</sup> D'Aubigné credited the Awakening with transforming this theological landscape.

This same sort of historical imagining of the Awakening as a turning point in German religious history is clearly visible in Philip Schaff, the prolific Swiss-born Reformed church historian. As a student in Tübingen, Schaff heard F.C. Baur's lectures before he continued his theological education in Halle, where the awakened religious beliefs of Tholuck made a deep and lasting religious impression upon him.<sup>174</sup> In his

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid., p. 266.

<sup>170</sup> Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigné, *Germany, England, and Scotland; or Recollections of a Swiss Minister* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co, 1848), p. v.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>174</sup> David Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897), pp. 17-32.



1888 study of the history of Reformation in Germany, Schaff succinctly articulated the grand historical narrative which awakened German Protestants consistently invoked to explain the cultural significance and religious meaning of the Awakening.

Rationalism appeared first in the seventeenth century in the Church of England, though without such effect upon the people, as Deism, which asserted natural religion versus revealed religion; it was matured in its various phases after the middle of the eighteenth-century on the Continent, especially in Protestant Germany since Lessing (d. 1781) and Semler (d. 1791), and gradually obtained the mastery of the chairs and pulpits of Lutheran and Reformed churches, till about 1817, when a revival of the positive faith of the Reformation spread over Germany and serious conflict began between positive and negative Protestantism, which continues to this day.<sup>175</sup>

Schaff, who for the last thirty years of his life taught at the Presbyterian Church's Union Theological Seminary in New York City, explained how this 'serious conflict' between the 'negative Protestantism' of the religious Enlightenment and the 'positive Protestantism' of the Awakening was the fruit of 'a one-sided development of the negative, protesting, anti-papal and anti-traditional factor of the Reformation to the exclusion of its positive, evangelical faith in the revealed will and word of God.'<sup>176</sup>

Schaff contended that these two types of Protestantism represented the difference between 'the rightful use of intellectual freedom', (i.e. awakened theology) and 'the excess and abuse of intellectual freedom' (i.e. rationalistic theology).<sup>177</sup> According to Schaff, principal among these so-called excesses and abuses were rationalism's denial of the 'supernatural and miraculous', and its assertions of 'reason against revelation', and of 'freedom against divine as well as human authority.'<sup>178</sup>

Schaff further charged that Rationalistic theology was such a serious problem because it had introduced certain 'radical changes in the eighteenth-century' into the worshipping life of German Protestant churches, which had had an overall dampening

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<sup>175</sup> Philip Schaff, *The History of the Christian Church*, VII: *The German Reformation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888), p. 26.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., p. 382.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., p. 382.

effect on popular piety. Under the influence of Rationalism, ‘the spirit of worship cooled down; the weekly communion was abolished; the sermon degenerated into a barren moral discourse; [and] new liturgies and hymnbooks with all sorts of misimprovements were introduced.’<sup>179</sup> Schaff attributed the beginning of the reversal of these trends to the ‘revival of the liturgical spirit’ within the corporate life of the church and the ‘restoration of many devotional treasures of past ages’ in the personal lives of individual believers, both of which began to occur around the time of the ‘third centennial celebration of the Reformation’ during the early years of the Awakening movement.<sup>180</sup>

## 2.4 Conclusions

This chapter has presented how many theologians, church leaders, lay Christians, and other observers perceived German Protestantism to be in a fluctuating state during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries as Protestants vigorously debated religious epistemology, theological methodology, and the reception of their confessional traditions. As a way of bringing conceptual clarity to these heated conversations, contemporary figures introduced the historiographical labels of ‘enlightenment’, ‘revolution’, and ‘awakening’ to describe their positions. They developed certain narratives, for example that the Christian Church was moving from spiritual and intellectual immaturity to maturity or that the Church was waking up from a stupor of theological error.

For awakened Protestants, the religious Enlightenment had been a period of the decline of correct belief, and the churches needed to be saved from the teachings and influence of rationalist Protestants. The practice of thinking about one’s religious identity in historical terms was especially important for awakened Protestants because it enabled them to perceive affinities with other generally likeminded Christians who belonged to other institutional churches and subscribed to other confessions, but with whom they nevertheless shared religious convictions. In the following chapters we will

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., p. 382.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., p. 382.

examine the ways in which awakened German Protestants endeavoured to articulate their understanding of the Christian message and communicate their experience of religious awakening to others.

## Chapter Three: The Awakening and Preaching

### Introduction

In 1566 Johannes Mathesius published the first biography of Martin Luther written in German. Philipp Melancthon and Johannes Cochläus had earlier written Latin lives of Luther, but Mathesius used the vernacular in order to reach a popular audience.<sup>1</sup> Throughout his *History of that venerable and divinely blessed man, Doctor Martin Luther*, the former student, lodger, and dinner table companion of Luther, poured forth praise upon his mentor. He lauded Luther as an ‘instrument of God’ and as ‘the dear teacher through whom God awakened us, rescued us from the teachings of the anti-Christ, and brought back into our churches the pure doctrines that save’.<sup>2</sup> In describing Luther as a minister who had spiritually awakened the German people through his preaching, Mathesius introduced into the Protestant religious imagination the idea of the ‘*Erweckungsprediger*’, that is, the ‘preacher of religious awakening’. Mathesius also pioneered a new genre of Protestant religious biography that recounted the lives of preachers as a form of didactic and devotional literature. The label of ‘*Erweckungsprediger*’ was later applied to many other preachers.

During the second half of the nineteenth century this term acquired a new meaning. It became used to refer to a number of university graduates and church ministers who were active in local church contexts during the first-half of the nineteenth century. At this time, certain preachers from both Lutheran and Reformed confessional backgrounds believed like Luther before them that they were living in a particularly dire period in history. They further felt that God had assigned personally to them the special work of awakening members of their churches. They concluded that the way to accomplish their prophetic task was to emphasise ancient and basic Christian teachings in their preaching. George S. Williamson has recently commented on aspects of the religious mood of this period in his chapter on nineteenth-century religion in the 2011

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<sup>1</sup> Irena Backus, *Life Writing in Reformation Europe: Lives of Reformers, by Friends, Disciples and Foes* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 8-12.

<sup>2</sup> Johannes Mathesius, *Historien von des ehrwürdigen in Gott seligen theuren Manns Gottes Doctoris Martini Luthers anfang, lehr, leben und sterben* (Nuremberg, 1566), p. 375.

*Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*. Following after ‘the rationalism and religious scepticism of the late-Enlightenment’, the ‘destruction, suffering, and economic upheaval of the Napoleonic Wars’ and ‘the ensuing expansion of state authority over religious life’, many ‘Catholics and Protestants’ were struck by ‘a profound sense of the reality of evil in the world and of sin in their hearts, which could only be cleansed through the saving grace of Jesus Christ’.<sup>3</sup>

The message of the preachers of religious awakening consisted of four main parts: (1) that all people were estranged from God because of their sins and no one could reconcile themselves to God; (2) that through his death and resurrection Jesus had made healing from sin and salvation possible; (3) that this salvation was a gift that could only be received by faith; (4) and that Jesus commanded those who believed in him to live a holy life and tell this gospel to other people. The ‘*Erweckungsprediger*’ developed into an archetypal figure within the history of modern German Protestantism, with many examples of such preachers from local contexts.

In the fourth of his *Nine Books of Prussian History* (first published in 1848), the historian Leopold von Ranke reminisced about the religious atmosphere that had been created by such preachers during the decades following the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Born in 1795, Ranke had lived through the years of the Awakening while a university student in Leipzig, a Gymnasium instructor in Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, and a university lecturer in Berlin.

Throughout the course of the eighteenth century, Western culture in Europe and America moved in the opposite direction of positive and authentic Christianity, until in France irreligion won for itself the authority of the state and a great nation worshipped in the Temple of Reason. However, humanity could not bear the desolation of life without God. In the nineteenth century, the people returned to the sources of life that had nourished earlier generations and even came back to the historic confessions of the Churches.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> George S. Williamson, ‘Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, 1760-1871: Enlightenment, Emancipation, New Forms of Piety’, *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, ed. by Helmut Walser Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 211-33 (p. 221).

<sup>4</sup> Leopold von Ranke, *Neun Bücher Preussischer Geschichte*, II: (Berlin: Veit and Comp, 1848), pp. 13-14.

Ranke thus interpreted the Awakening as one part of a new epoch in the progressive unfolding of divine providence that he discerned in world history.<sup>5</sup> In much a similar vein, the University of Bonn professor of law Clemens Theodor Perthes reflected in an 1851 biography of his father how the preachers of religious awakening counteracted the prevailing influence of theological rationalism within Germany's ecclesiastical communities through their preaching.

The considerable distresses that were suffered during the time of French oppression and the following vigorous uprising of the people during the Wars of Liberation stimulated a deeper kind of spiritual life, which thereafter began to actively penetrate with newfound strength into the heart of our nation. In numerous individuals, many church congregations, and here and there in ministers' studies, the sense of needing to be saved from sin and to then live a pious, Christian life was awakened. This occurred entirely independently of any trends in the academic [*wissenschaftlichen*] theology of this time. This new spiritual life could not be satisfied by the theological rationalism that then prevailed. It turned itself to a new, or rather, to a very old path. All throughout Germany, in regions most different from each other, there appeared groups of people of smaller and larger sizes, who sought solace for their souls and found this rest in the old faith of the Church [*alten Kirchenglauben*]. The preceding dominance of rationalism was broken, its pre-eminence as the universal creed of the Protestant churches was deeply shaken.<sup>6</sup>

Likewise, in the second volume of his five-volume work, *German History in the Nineteenth Century*, published between 1879 and 1894, the historian Heinrich von Treitschke noted that the preachers of religious awakening had followed the preachers of religious Enlightenment, against whose preaching he delivered a withering critique. He accused them of having 'eliminated from the dogmas of faith everything that seemed to them to be 'irrational''.<sup>7</sup> He alleged that they had thrown away not only 'the husk of the Christian faith', but also 'its kernel as well, even the deeply moving doctrines of sin and redemption which had always held the dearest place in German hearts'.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Lammert van Hemert, 'Het christelijk denkkader van Leopold von Ranke: De relatie tussen von Rankes geloofsovertuiging en zijn historische arbeid', *TTVCH*, 12 (2001), pp. 1-6 (p. 5-6).

<sup>6</sup> Clemens Theodor Perthes, *Friedrich Perthes Leben*, II (Hamburg: Verlag von Friedrich und Andreas Perthes, 1851), pp. 323-24.

<sup>7</sup> Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, II (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1882), p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

Under the dominance of rationalism, worship services lost everything which refreshed the soul and roused the imagination. Spiritual teaching sank down to the level of secular instruction. Preachers no longer understood how to edify and uplift burdened consciences, how to dispense comfort from the abundance of the promises of the Scriptures. Rather, they held forth on broad moral considerations, explaining what the rational Christian had to think about individual dogmas. They were not even ashamed to use buildings consecrated to the worship of God to give well-intentioned advice on how to grow potatoes and how to breed sheep. The houses of God became deserted. Men of intelligence could no longer breathe in this thin atmosphere.<sup>9</sup>

Treitschke continued by ridiculing preachers who had described themselves as rationalists, especially the University of Heidelberg professor of theology Heinrich Paulus, for how they had suggested non-supernatural explanations for various Biblical miracles. Treitschke mocked Paulus and other rationalists for their speculations that Jesus had actually been a skilled physician with an advanced knowledge of science, who had been able to heal people through his adroit use of magnetism; that a practical joker had turned the water into wine at the wedding at Cana; and that Jesus had recovered from the injuries that he sustained at his crucifixion when placed in his tomb and thus only appeared to have been resurrected from the dead.<sup>10</sup>

More recently, in his three-volume study of Germany history since the Reformation that he published between 1959 and 1969, Hajo Holborn remarked how ‘after the War of Liberation, the ‘awakening’, was carried to the common people through revivalist preachers’.<sup>11</sup> According to Holborn, the many preachers of religious awakening in Germany at this time proclaimed a faith that fused together elements of the older sixteenth and seventeenth-century Protestant confessional orthodoxy with those of the Pietist reforms to Protestantism from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Holborn then asserted that this new awakened Protestantism ‘became the religion of the old ruling classes, the rural population, and the lower middle classes in the towns’,

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>11</sup> Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern German: 1648-1840* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 494.

during the period between 1815 and 1850, until ‘substantial sections of the latter forsook religion after the middle of the century’.<sup>12</sup>

These historians’ reflections illustrate how preaching has long been recognised as one of the identifying characteristics of the early nineteenth-century German Protestant Awakening. This chapter will explore this preaching, concentrating on the well-known *Erweckungsprediger* from different regions of Germany. These ministers preached about religious awakening in two senses. Firstly, on the individual level, they regarded awakening from sin and unbelief to a life of obedience and faith as integral to the Christian life. Secondly, on the ecclesial level, the preachers were animated by a particular imagination of the history of the Christian Church. They conceived of the Church as corporately oscillating between periods of greater faithfulness and greater faithlessness.

As a means of further introduction and contextualisation, we will begin our analysis of these preachers and the relationship between their sermons and the broader movement for religious awakening in Germany by examining their contemporary reception and subsequent historical interpretation. We will then consider how the preachers of the religious awakening were generally characterised by an irenic ecumenical disposition. This was born out of their fears that the essence of Christian faith was in danger of being lost and thus that it was important for them to cooperate with generally likeminded believers from other confessional traditions. For example, the Catholic priest and future Bishop of Regensburg Georg Michael Wittman expressed such sentiments in 1808 when he received financial assistance from the British and Foreign Bible Society to publish his new translation of the New Testament and distribute it to lay Catholics.<sup>13</sup> Speaking of his Protestant collaborators, Wittman declared, ‘We have the one and the same fight of faith to fight. We have the one and the same lord, namely, Jesus Christ. United in him we are bound to each other. Neither geographic distance, nor different ecclesiastical polities, nor dissimilar religious confessions can

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 487, p. 494.

<sup>13</sup> Gerhard Winkler, *Georg Michael Wittmann (1760-1833), Bischof von Regensburg: zwischen Revolution und Restauration* (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2005), pp. 141-44; Matthias Simon, *Evangelische Kirchengeschichte Bayerns*, II (Munich: Paul Müller Verlag, 1942), p. 594.



divide us. All these things pass away, but love remains'.<sup>14</sup> In this second section we will observe how the preaching of a Roman Catholic renewal movement that began in Bavaria in the late eighteenth century helped to stimulate the Protestant Awakening in other parts of Germany. We will conclude by examining the significance and legacy of several particular, regionally-influential Protestant *Erweckungsprediger*.

### 3.1 The history of the interpretation of the preachers of religious awakening

In 1821 Friedrich Schleiermacher reflected on how markedly different the German Protestant religious landscape had become since 1799 when he first published his famous *Speeches on Religion to the Educated Among its Despisers*. He now observed that he could no longer find any 'educated despisers of religion'. In the preface to the third edition of the *Speeches*, he mused that were he now to write them for the first time, he would address them instead to those whom he derisively called 'the sanctimonious ones (*Frömmelnde*)', 'the slaves to Biblical literalism (*Buchstabenknechte*)', and to 'those superstitious people, who are ignorant and unloving and quick to condemn (*unwissend und lieblos verdamrende Aber- und Uebergläubige*)'.<sup>15</sup> It is highly likely that when Schleiermacher wrote these words he had in mind one of his fiercest critics, the *Erweckungsprediger* Johannes Jänicke. This ethnically Czech clergymen had been the pastor of a congregation of Moravian Brethren in the Rixdorf suburb of Berlin since 1779 and was a prominent initiator of missionary, Bible, and religious tract societies in the Prussian capital.<sup>16</sup> After his death on 21 July 1827, Jänicke was eulogised by one of the first German Protestant missionaries to western Africa who had been his student at the missionary training academy that he founded in Berlin. 'Blessed Father Jänicke was the consecrated instrument through

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<sup>14</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach, 'Des Schwalenberger Pfarrer L. van Eß und die Frühzeit der protestantisch-katholischen Bibelbewegung (1808)', *JVWKG*, 66 (1973), pp. 75-83 (p. 76).

<sup>15</sup> Friedrich Schleiermacher, 'Vorrede zur dritten Ausgabe', *Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1821), p. xiv.

<sup>16</sup> Karl Ledderhose, 'Johann Jänicke', *ADB*, XIII (1881), 699-700.

which I and thousands of others were awakened from our false sense of security and became people who worship and adore Jesus Christ in spirit and in truth.’<sup>17</sup>

In an 1817 sermon on 2 Corinthians 4, Jänicke made a judgmental pun on Schleiermacher’s name, praying for God to remove the ‘veils that cover the eyes of all veil-makers.’ The suggestion was that Schleiermacher, who had once famously described himself as ‘a Moravian of a higher order’, did not, in fact, know the gospel at all, and was one of those who were spiritually ‘perishing’.<sup>18</sup> Jänicke made such serious charges against Schleiermacher, even calling him an ‘unbeliever’ several months before he (Jänicke) died, because he believed certain statements that Schleiermacher had made about the divinity of Christ to be intentionally deceptive equivocations which belied his real beliefs regarding Jesus’ deity.<sup>19</sup> According to Jänicke, the atonement was the essence of the gospel, and it was imperative that preachers confess Jesus as ‘the true God, begotten of the Father before all eternity’, whose ‘blood had been shed for salvation.’<sup>20</sup> He held that it was only the divinity of Jesus that made his death an efficacious sacrifice for sins and only his divine nature that enabled him to save those who believed in him from ‘eternal damnation’.<sup>21</sup> In light of the steady stream of denunciations directed against him from Jänicke, it is not surprising that Schleiermacher wrote as he did in his preface to the 1821 edition of the *Speeches*. Other commentators, to be sure, described the early adherents of the Awakening movement more positively.

In 1835 Schleiermacher’s former student and professor at a theological college in Wittenberg, Richard Rothe, gave a series of lectures on the history of the Christian sermon from the first century to the present-day. With great hyperbole, Rothe stressed that there had been considerable changes in German Protestant preaching since the end

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<sup>17</sup> Johann August Ludwig Hanstein, *Am Grabe des treuen Knechts Jesu, Herrn Johann Jänicke* (Berlin: J. Leonhard Ebner, 1827), p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach, *Aufzeichnungen aus seinem Leben und Wirken, 1795-1877*, I, ed. by Jakob von Gerlach (Schwerin, Mecklenburg: Friedrich Bahn, 1906), p. 103.

<sup>19</sup> Karl Friedrich Ledderhose, *Johann Jänicke, der evangelisch-lutherische Prediger an der böhmischen- oder Bethlehem-Kirche zu Berlin, nach seinem Leben und Wirken* (Berlin: Eduard Beck, 1863), p. 137.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137-39.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.

of the eighteenth century.<sup>22</sup> ‘In the year 1800, the only kind of preaching to be found anywhere in the Protestant churches of Germany was that of the religious Enlightenment [*aufklärerische Predigtschule*], that is, the so-called ‘philosophical-moralistic’ preaching.’<sup>23</sup> However, Rothe then claimed that under the military and political circumstances of defeat and foreign occupation, ‘positive Christianity and the elemental spiritual life [*natürliche Geistesleben*] of our nation, which had previously opposed each other with mutual hostility, then began to converge in the same direction, to interpenetrate each other, and to truly reconcile.’<sup>24</sup> More precisely, Rothe reflected on how through the preaching ministries of the Lutheran clergymen Franz Volkmar Reinhard in Dresden and Claus Harms in Kiel, and the Reformed divines Gottfried Menken in Bremen and Franz Thieremin in Berlin, ‘there has come a fresh, new, and truly Christian impulse in the historical development of the sermon.’<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, Rothe noted that examples of this new type of preaching could be seen in many other preachers who lived within and without Germany, including the Church of Scotland minister and professor Thomas Chalmers.<sup>26</sup> Rothe characterised the ‘truly Christian impulse’ that he claimed all these preachers shared as one that was ‘deeply rooted in the old Christian faith and in the old Christian life, one which, as such, has not been shaped by the spirit of the age’.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly, in the conclusion to his 1841 *History of German Protestant Pulpit Eloquence*, Carl Schenk, a graduate of the University of Berlin and a minister in Stettin in Pomerania, argued that in the early decades of the nineteenth century a new kind of pietism appeared throughout Germany. Schenk characterised this movement as ‘pietistic and mystical neo-Protestantism [*Pietismus oder Neuevangelismus und Mysticismus*]’, and cited a number of prominent regional examples of ministers who preached from this perspective: Johann Friedrich Arndt and Friedrich Adolf Strauss in Berlin, Johann

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<sup>22</sup> Richard Rothe, *Geschichte der Predigt, von den Anfängen bis auf Schleiermacher aus Rothe's handschriftlichem Nachlaß*, ed. August Trümpelmann (Bremen: M. Heinsius, 1881).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 452.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 477.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 462-65.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 471.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 471.

Rautenberg in Hamburg, Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher in the Rhineland, Andreas Rudelbach in Saxony, Johann Scheibel in Breslau, Ewald Stier in Düsseldorf, and August Tholuck in Halle.<sup>28</sup> The histories of German Protestant preaching that were written in 1874 and 1879 by two other graduates of the University of Berlin, August Brömel, the Superintendent of the Church of the Duchy of Lauenburg in Holstein, and Johann Nebe, a professor at the Hessian missionary training academy in Herborn, concurred with Rothe's and Schenk's historical interpretations regarding the appearance of 'preachers of religious awakening' throughout Germany.<sup>29</sup>

It was not only church historians who advanced the idea that the *Erweckungsprediger* were a special type, or class, of ministers who were active in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, contemporary church leaders recognised significant similarities and commonalities in how many of these ministers preached. In 1837, sermons from many of those preachers who were described as *Erweckungsprediger* were collected together and published in one volume. That year two Lutheran ministers from neighbouring parishes in the Rhineland, Theodor Fliedner and Wilhelm Leipoldt, edited *Ein Herr, Ein Glaube: Sammlung evangelischer Predigten aus dreißig verschiedenen Ländern in und außer Deutschland zum Beßten der evangelischen Gemeinde Karlshuld auf dem Donaumoos* (*One Lord, One Faith: A Collection of Protestant Sermons from Thirty Different Countries Within and Without Germany, for the Benefit of the Protestant Congregation of Karlshuld in the Danube Marshes*).<sup>30</sup> Fliedner is best known as the founder of the modern Protestant deaconess movement in Kaiserswerth (a village near Düsseldorf), while Leipoldt was the first director of the Barmen Missionary Society. The financial plight of an unusual Protestant congregation in northern Bavaria moved Fliedner and Leipoldt to undertake this literary project.

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<sup>28</sup> Carl Schenk, *Geschichte der deutsch-protestantischen Kanzelberedsamkeit, von Luther bis auf die neuesten Zeiten* (Berlin: Hermann Schultze, 1841), pp. 393-96.

<sup>29</sup> August Nebe, *Zur Geschichte der Predigt: Charakterbilder der bedeutendsten Kanzelredner*, III (Wiesbaden: Julius Riedner, 1879); August Brömel, *Homiletische Charakterbilder*, II (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1874).

<sup>30</sup> Wilhelm Oehler, *Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Mission*, I: *Frühzeit und Blüte der deutschen evangelischen Mission, 1706-1885* (Baden-Baden: Wilhelm Fehrholz Verlag, 1949), p. 180; Norbert Friedrich, 'Innere Mission und Gustav-Adolf-Verein – der Verbandsprotestantismus im Vormärz', in *Sozialer Protestantismus im Vormärz*, ed. by Martin Friedrich et al (Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 2001), p. 64.

In January 1832, the 600 members of the parish church in Karlshuld, a new village that had been recently built on reclaimed swampland, followed their minister in his conversion from Roman Catholicism to Lutheranism. However, only six months later in the July of that same year, the Reverend Lutz had a change of heart and returned to the Catholic Church, along with 420 of his parishioners. Resultantly, the 180 remaining Protestants in Karlshuld lost their church building and its manse and were no longer able to employ either their congregation's cantor or its schoolteacher.<sup>31</sup> After becoming aware of their troubles, Fliedner and Leipoldt solicited sermons from many preachers throughout Europe (most of whom were German-speakers) so that they might compile them together into a book that could be sold to raise funds to alleviate the Karlshuld congregation's needs.<sup>32</sup>

They received an impressive response to their appeal. From among an unspecified number of sermons that they received, Fliedner and Leipoldt decided to publish 53. Of these 37 had been written by preachers from 16 German states along with 16 that came from ministers in 12 other countries (three from Switzerland, two from the Netherlands, and one each from preachers who were resident in Austria, Belgium, England, France, Hungary, Naples, Norway, Rome, Russia, and Scotland). These preachers are listed below in the alphabetical order of their ecclesiastical title.

Antistes Georg Gessner (1765-1843), Zürich, Switzerland

Bischof Johann Dräseke (1774-1849), Magdeburg

Bischof Peter Olivarius Bugge (1764-1849), Trondheim, Norway

Consistorialrath and Hofprediger Franz Theremin (1780-1846), Berlin

Consistorialrath and Pfarrer Johann Zimmer (1777-1853), Frankfurt-am-Main

Consistorialrath and Professor August Tholuck (1799-1877), Halle

Consistorialrath and Professor Karl Immanuel Nitzsch (1787-1868), Bonn

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<sup>31</sup> Georg Albrecht Lorberg, 'Review of *Ein Herr, Ein Glaube. Sammlung evangelischer Predigten aus dreißig verschiedenen Ländern*, ed. by Theodore Fliedner and Wilhelm Leipoldt', *AKZ*, 18 (1839), pp. 217-30 (p. 219).

<sup>32</sup> Theodor Fliedner and Wilhelm Leipoldt, 'Vorwort', in *Ein Herr, Ein Glaube: Sammlung evangelischer Predigten aus dreißig verschiedenen Ländern in und außer Deutschland zum Besten der evangelischen Gemeinde Karlshuld auf dem Donaumoose*, ed. by Theodor Fliedner and Wilhelm Leipoldt (Barmen: J.F. Steinhaus, 1837), p. iii.

Diakon Wilhelm Hofacker (1805-48), Stuttgart

Kirchenrath and Seminariums Direktor August Heydenreich (1773-1858),  
Herborn (Prussia)

Pastor Carl Spitta (1801-59), Hameln (Hannover)  
Pastor Karl Döring (1783-1844), Elberfeld (Prussia)

Professor Friedrich Busch (1798-1877), Dorpat, Russia  
Professor Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigné (1794-1872), Geneva, Switzerland  
Professor and Pfarrer Johann Krafft (1784-1845), Erlangen  
Professor Julius Müller (1801-78), Marburg  
Professor Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847), Edinburgh, United Kingdom

Pfarrer Aloys Henhöfer, former Catholic priest (1789-1862), Spöck (Baden)  
Pfarrer August Bomhardt (1787-1869), Augsburg  
Pfarrer August Wimmer (1791-1863), Oberschützen, Hungary  
Pfarrer Christian Burk (1800-80), Gross-Bottwar (Württemberg)  
Pfarrer Christian Couard (1793-1865), Berlin  
Pfarrer Eduard Schulz (1796-1880), Mühlheim (Prussia)  
Pfarrer Franz Gräber (1784-1857), Barmen  
Pfarrer Friedrich Lisco (1791-1866), Berlin  
Pfarrer Friedrich Mallet (1792-1865), Bremen  
Pfarrer Gottfried Krummacher (1774-1837), Elberfeld (Prussia)  
Pfarrer Gottfried Thomasius (1802-75), Nuremberg  
Pfarrer Heinrich Bomhardt (unknown), Dorfkemnathen (Bavaria)  
Pfarrer Ignaz Lindl, former Catholic priest (1774-1845), Barmen  
Pfarrer Immanuel Sander (1797-1859), Wichlinghausen (Prussia)  
Pfarrer Jakob Koch (1797-1856), Wallern, Austria  
Pfarrer Johann Arndt (1802-81), Berlin  
Pfarrer Johann Bachmann (1799-1876), Berlin  
Pfarrer Johannes Geibel (1776-1853), Braunschweig  
Pfarrer Johannes Goßner, former Catholic priest (1773-1858), Berlin  
Pfarrer Johann Lange (1802-84), Duisburg  
Pfarrer Johannes Lindner (1790-1853), Basel, Switzerland  
Pfarrer Johann Rautenberg (1791-1865), Hamburg  
Pfarrer Kranichfeld (unknown), Wolkenburg (Saxony)  
Pfarrer Louis Valette, Prussian embassy chaplain (unknown), Naples, Italy  
Pfarrer Theophil Passavant (1787-1864), Basel, Switzerland  
Pfarrer W. Krücke (unknown), Langenholzhausen (Lippe-Detmold)  
Pfarrer Wilhelm Heuser (unknown), Barmen

Pfarr-Vicar Franz Helferich, former Catholic priest (1806-81), Darmstadt

Prediger Friedrich von Tippelskirch, Prussian chaplain (1802-66), Rome, Italy

Prediger J. Mayer (unknown), Amsterdam, The Netherlands  
Prediger Karl Steinkopf (1773-1859), London, United Kingdom  
Prediger Karl Westhoff (unknown), Nijmegen, The Netherlands  
Prediger and Missionshaus Direktor Jean-Henri Grandpierre (1799-1874), Paris, France  
Prediger S. Spoerlein (1806-78), Antwerp, Belgium

Probst Claus Harms (1778-1855), Kiel

Superintendent Heinrich Heubner (1780-1855), Wittenberg  
Superintendent Johann Hey (1789-1854), Ichtershausen (Prussia)

In arranging this compendium of sermons according to the traditional Protestant liturgical calendar, Fliedner and Leipoldt implied that there was a theological affinity among all of the contributors, regardless of whether they were relatively unknown parish ministers or very well-known preachers, professors, and senior church officials. As they noted in their introduction:

This collection does not claim to indicate through these individual sermons from many countries the precise manner in which the gospel is preached in each of the different lands from which they come. Rather, it is through each one of them that it hopes to give witness to how the word of Christ loudly and lively rings out in the most different areas of Europe. Furthermore, despite how outwardly the Protestant Church is visibly divided by the borders of nations, by the names of the different confessions, and by different ecclesiastical constitutions, this collection testifies to how the Protestant church is inwardly united through the firm bond of one faith in one Lord.<sup>33</sup>

This collection of sermons was a commercial success. Within several months of its publication the first edition sold 7,000 copies and a second edition was printed the following year.<sup>34</sup>

In 1838 and 1839, *One Lord, One Faith* was reviewed in the Paris *Archives du Christianisme au Dix-neuvième Siècle*, which was edited by the French Reformed minister Frédéric Monod, and in the Darmstadt *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* by Georg Lorberg, a Lutheran minister and a member of the consistory council of the Church of the Duchy of Nassau. Monod and Lorberg concurred that this collection of sermons was

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. iii.

<sup>34</sup> Frédéric Monod, 'Histoire d'un livre', *ACDS*, 21 (1838), pp. 121-24 (p. 122).

especially important because of how it showcased the common theological emphases in the preaching of its many contributors. Such congruities convinced both Monod and Lorberg that there was a basic theological unity among the preachers of religious awakening throughout German-speaking Europe. However, they disagreed sharply as to whether this kind of preaching was a welcome or an unwelcome development in Protestant church life.

Regarding what he called the '*beau réveil religieux*' in Germany, the French reviewer was entirely laudatory, commenting how:

All of the voices that are united in this book belong to men, who for the most, have never met each other and perhaps will never meet each other in this life. These men belong to different Protestant communions and neither share the same confession of faith nor follow the same liturgy in their worship services. These men differ greatly from each other in their character, education, studies, and talents. And yet, all of their voices here come together in a harmonious concert of truth, faith, and love. It is as if they had all been brought up in the same school, under one master, as if they had all been taught to repeat the same teachings of the same system. But, indeed, this supposition is true. They have had the same master: Jesus Christ....In these happy times in which we live, what more evidence of this do we need when from Paris to Philadelphia and from London to Calcutta we see many individual examples of our old churches awakening [*nos vieilles églises qui se ravivent*] and new churches being born by the breath of the Word of the God and the voice of pious missionaries. All of those who are working for the Kingdom of Christ, all of those who have life, all of those who are fighting for the gospel, and who are nourished by the same, all of these have but one lord and one faith, just as the contributors to his book do.<sup>35</sup>

In contrast, Lorberg expressed his frustration towards what he reckoned as the considerable pastoral-theological 'deficiencies' in most of the sermons published in *One Lord, One Faith*. Lorberg criticised the preachers of religious awakening for their 'incessant, general declamation of a few of their favorite doctrines from their rigid literalistic faith'.<sup>36</sup> By extension, he regarded an over-emphasis on dogmatic theology not just as the shortcoming of this particular collection of sermons, but as a deficiency in the overall preaching of the *Erweckungsprediger*. For Lorberg, the kind of preaching

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>36</sup> Lorberg, 'Review of Ein Herr, Ein Glaube', p. 225.



which concentrated almost exclusively on the doctrines of soteriology (e.g. the incarnation, atonement, resurrection, and return of Christ; the election, justification, sanctification, and glorification of the believer) often amounted to abstract, if not esoteric, theological exercises, ones that had very little to do with what he called ‘the real Christian life’.<sup>37</sup>

To bolster these critiques, Lorberg quoted approvingly an excerpt from the sermon that Thomas Chalmers had contributed to *One Lord, One Faith*. It may be surprising to find a contribution from a Scottish theologian in a collection of German sermons, but this is explained by Fliedner’s personal acquaintance with Chalmers, with whom he had stayed when he visited Edinburgh in 1832. Fliedner was particularly interested in emulating in the industrialising Rhineland the kind of ecclesiastical and social reforms that Chalmers had inaugurated in his urban Glasgow parish.<sup>38</sup> According to Chalmers, ‘The man whose dry orthodoxy consists in his assent to gaunt dogmas that bear no spiritual fruit in his life may think that he is walking in the light, but in fact he is only walking in the cold light of speculation. He merely walks in the dim glow of a fire that he has made himself. If he had the fire of the Holy One, his unregenerate soul would have shown itself to have been baptised with the fire and the spirit and the love of the Holy One.’<sup>39</sup> Alternatively, Lorberg insisted that the most edifying and fruitful kind of preaching was that which plainly addressed ‘specific issues related to the daily living of the Christian life’, such as the need to repent from sin, the need to forgive and to be forgiven, ‘the dangers of sexual immorality’, and ‘the importance of reading the Bible with the members of one’s household’.<sup>40</sup>

Twentieth-century German historians continued to emphasise the significance of the impact that such *Erweckungsprediger* made on early nineteenth-century Protestant churches and on German society more broadly. Between 1929 and 1937 the Roman Catholic scholar Franz Schnabel, a professor of history at the Technical University of

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>38</sup> Georg Fliedner, *Theodor Fliedner: Sein Leben und Wirken*, I (Kaiserswerth: Verlag der Diakonissen-Anstalt, 1908), p. 229.

<sup>39</sup> Lorberg, ‘Review of Ein Herr, Ein Glaube’, p. 225.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 226.

Karlsruhe and member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, completed his four-volume study of the history of Germany in the nineteenth century. As a scholar who was active during the National Socialist period, it is important to note that Schnabel was one of the German academics whom the American occupational authorities tasked with the reconstruction of the German university system in their zone after the defeat of the Nazis. In the final volume of his study, Schnabel analysed the religious life of the nineteenth century and dedicated a section to his discussion of the Protestant *Erweckungsprediger*.<sup>41</sup>

Throughout their history, Protestants have always emphasised the Bible and preaching in their conversion stories and evangelistic activities much more than they have the sacraments and the liturgy of the Church. Yet even so, neo-Pietism [*Neupietismus*] began a new period in the history of the sermon. This religious movement came about in the Protestant areas of German through a number of great witnesses to the Word. These *Erweckungsprediger* came into Protestant churches at the same time as the academic pulpit orators, like Schleiermacher and his liberal disciples, and served there as models for entire generations. The sermons that the *Erweckungsprediger* delivered attracted great throngs of people. Members of all social classes and confessions flocked to hear them on the Sundays when they climbed into the pulpit...But the historical meaning of neo-Pietism and the communal religious life that it inspired is much greater than what the numbers of *Erweckungsprediger* and those who came to hear them alone suggest. It is here that the roots of modern Protestant popular piety are to be found. In an age in which the educated and uneducated [*Gebildeten und Ungebildeten*] were socially alienated from each other, when they attended such sermons together, they came together and created a community where everyone could feel comfortable, wherein the preacher was no longer in danger of either disappointing the learned nor speaking over the heads of the common people. Amid the increasing secularization of the century there came into being places where the Bible was read with heartfelt participation, where prayer was fostered, and where serious conversations went on about sin, grace, and the afterlife.<sup>42</sup>

More recently, in 1991 the University of Basel professor of church history Ulrich Gäßler has argued that the religious phenomenon of the *Erweckungsprediger* was one that had occurred at this time not just in Germany but in many different national

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<sup>41</sup> Franz Schnabel, *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, IV: *Die Religiösen Kräfte* (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1937), pp. 394-99.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 394, p. 399.

contexts. As such, these preachers could be fruitfully examined through a comparative approach. His work, *'Auferstehungszeit: Erweckungsprediger des 19. Jahrhunderts* (*'Times of Resurrection: Revival Preachers of the Nineteenth Century*) analysed six case studies of celebrated nineteenth-century Protestant preachers: Charles Finney and Dwight Moody in America, Isaac da Costa in the Netherlands, Adolphe Monod in France, Aloys Henhöfer in Germany, and Thomas Chalmers in Scotland.<sup>43</sup>

Lastly, as a concluding thought on how German historians have interpreted the *Erweckungsprediger*, it is helpful to note the insights that the University of Münster professor of church history, Martin Greschat, contributed to a 1997 collection of essays on the cultural processes of secularisation, de-Christianisation, and re-Christianisation in modern Europe. He averred that the traditional Manichean framing of the differences between the preachers of the religious Enlightenment and the preachers of the Awakening has unhelpfully obscured how both of these types of preachers were motivated by the desire to promote Christian belief among the German people. Greschat reminds us how both kinds of preachers set about to do this in very different ways according to what they each thought the essence of the Christian message to be.

According to Greschat, the former type of preachers taught that after its initial purity, Christianity had become encumbered 'by mythical elements, upon which ecclesiastical dogmas had been constructed that were now no longer tenable in an enlightened age'.<sup>44</sup> Correspondingly, they believed that they maintained a true Christian witness and demonstrated love when they preached about how to become a more moral and virtuous person. For the same reasons, Greschat notes that it was not uncommon for rationalist preachers to give sermons to their rural parishioners about how 'small-pox vaccination and the latest advances in agricultural science' had the potential to enhance their quality of life.<sup>45</sup> He then explains how in contrast to the preachers of the religious Enlightenment, the *Erweckungsprediger* appeared 'as another generation of Protestant

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<sup>43</sup> Ulrich Gäbler, *'Auferstehungszeit: Erweckungsprediger des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag, 1990), pp. 161-78.

<sup>44</sup> Martin Greschat, 'Rechristianisierung und Säkularisierung: Anmerkungen aus deutscher protestantischer Sicht', in *Säkularisation, Dechristianisierung, Rechristianisierung im neuzeitlichen Europa*, ed. by Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1997), p. 79.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

pastors, in greatly changed times, whose understanding of the essence of Christianity, of faith, and of the church had been greatly transformed from the beliefs of those who had immediately preceded them'.<sup>46</sup>

### **3.2 The ecumenical influence of Protestant and Catholic 'Erweckungsprediger'**

The preaching of the *Erweckungsprediger* facilitated a notable degree of ecumenical rapprochement in Germany. At this time a number of Christian leaders from Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed traditions subordinated their historic confessional differences to their areas of doctrinal agreement. This occurred primarily because their shared concerns regarding the theological legacy of the religious Enlightenment were far more important to them than their theological differences. For example, in 1846, the University of Halle professor of theology August Tholuck recounted to a mostly British audience in London at the founding meeting of the Evangelical Alliance how Protestant and Catholic solidarity had been important during the early years of the Awakening.

Germany, as you all know, has gone through long years of almost universal apostasy from the main truths of the gospel... These times are happily over: but they have taught us to forget all the minor differences which may exist among Christians. The apostasy of those who have departed from the sound faith has been the means of increasing the brotherly love of all those who sympathize in the grand truths of the gospel... I recollect the time, almost twenty years ago when you could travel perhaps 100 German miles [460 English miles/740 kilometers], without having notice of more than two or three or four ministers who still proclaimed the gospel... I recollect that at that time, not only were Protestants of different denominations united together; but there were a good number of Roman Catholic brethren united with them, who, alarmed at the apostasy and general infidelity which prevailed in their own church, gladly shook hands, and joined themselves with orthodox Protestants.<sup>47</sup>

In his 1867 history of the Awakening in Bavaria, the University of Erlangen professor of theology Gottfried Thomasius recorded an example of this kind of ecumenism from

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>47</sup> Culling Earley Smith, ed. *Report of the Proceedings of the Conference Held at Freemasons' Hall, London, From August 19th to September 2nd Inclusive, 1846* (London, 1847), pp. 31-32.

Augsburg in 1823. ‘At that time all were one. Moravians, Pietists, Lutherans, the Reformed, and Catholics were all of one accord with each other and rejoiced in their one Lord and merciful God. Of confessional differences they knew nothing. It was truly, truly a beautiful time of reunited faith.’<sup>48</sup>

Along with this trans-confessional amity there prevailed among certain Protestant and Catholic preachers an irenic tone towards Christians from other confessional backgrounds, who they perceived to be essentially orthodox in their beliefs. Instead of engaging in internecine theological disputes, ‘awakened preachers’ and ‘awakened priests’ directed their energies to reaching the un-churched. Their messages moved beyond the anathemas of the sixteenth-century, and certain texts and collections of sermons were read and endorsed by both Protestants and Catholics. Thus did the religious awakening in Germany foster one of the earliest expressions of modern ecumenism in Europe between Catholics and Protestants.

This kind of religious influence flowed in both directions. For example, on 13 June 1804 Leander van Eß, a Catholic village priest and former Benedictine monk in Paderborn in north-western Germany, wrote a letter to state officials in Berlin in which he expressed his desire to make a new German translation of the New Testament for the benefit of the Catholic laity.<sup>49</sup> Van Eß had only recently come under Prussian jurisdiction as a result of the political secularisation of ecclesiastical estates in Germany at this time. The Prussian state had annexed the principality of Paderborn in 1802 and forcibly dissolved the monastery in March 1803.<sup>50</sup> Van Eß explained in his successful request for governmental financial support that after leaving the monastery he had realised how there was a great difference in the levels of ‘*Bildung*’ between Protestants and Catholics. He attributed this to how Protestants had long emphasised that the Bible should be read by all members of their churches. By promoting Bible-reading among

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<sup>48</sup> Gottfried Thomasius, *Das Wiedererwachen des evangelischen Lebens in der lutherischen Kirche Bayerns. Ein Stück süddeutscher Kirchengeschichte 1800-1840* (Erlangen: Verlag Andreas Deichert, 1867), p. 144.

<sup>49</sup> Johannes Altenberend, *Leander van Eß (1772-1847) Bibelübersetzer und Bibelverbreiter zwischen katholischer Aufklärung und evangelikaler Erweckungsbewegung* (Paderborn: Bonifatius Verlag, 2001), p. 83.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Catholics, van Eß hoped that they would become, ‘less inclined to superstition, more eager to receive instruction in solid Christian teachings, more responsive to practical Christianity, and more inclined to practice civic virtues.’<sup>51</sup> Moreover, van Eß promised that Bible-reading would mitigate against religious ‘*Indifferentismus*’ and ‘*Irreligiösität*’, among the Catholic population and sate ‘their ever increasing hunger and thirst for an inexpensive copy of the Bible.’<sup>52</sup> Against Catholic criticisms of lay Bible-reading, he defended the practice by citing supportive texts from several dozen Church Fathers from the first four centuries of church history.<sup>53</sup>

When van Eß’s translation of the New Testament appeared in 1807, it included an endorsement by Franz Volkmar Reinhard, who had formerly been a professor of theology and rector of the University of Wittenberg, and who was now the preacher to the court of the Duke of Saxony in Dresden. Reinhard praised van Eß for his ‘linguistic genius’ in rendering the Greek text into ‘a faithful and exceptionally readable modern German version that merits the attention of all of the friends of Holy Scripture, one which Protestants too can read to their benefit.’<sup>54</sup> By this time, Reinhard had gained considerable renown throughout Germany for a bold sermon that he delivered in the heartland of Lutheranism on Reformation Day 1800, entitled ‘How it is of first importance that our Church never forgets that it owes its existence to the renewal of the doctrine of the free grace of God in Christ.’<sup>55</sup> His sermon was published in the September 1803 edition of the Christianity Society’s monthly magazine, and was thus widely known throughout German-speaking Europe.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>53</sup> Leander van Eß, *Auszüge über das nothwendige und nützliche Bibellesen aus den heiligen Kirchenvätern und andern katholischen Schriftstellern, zur Aufmunterung der Katholiken* (Sulzbach: J.E. Seidel, 1816).

<sup>54</sup> Franz Volkmar Reinhard, ‘Vorrede’, in *Die Heiligen Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, trans. by Carl van Eß and Leander van Eß (Sulzbach: J. E. Seidel, 1812), p. ii.

<sup>55</sup> Christian-Erdmann Schott, *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Aufklärungspredigt: Dargestellt am Beispiel Frank Volkmar Reinhard* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1978), pp. 250-53; Franz Volkmar Reinhard, *Predigten im Jahre 1800 bey den Churfürstlichen Sächsischen evangelischen Hofgottesdienste zu Dresden gehalten*, II (Amberg: J.E. Seidel, 1801), pp. 270-95.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Auszug aus einer vortrefflichen Rede am Reformationsfeste 1800 über den nämlichen Text Römerbrief 3:23-25 gehalten’, *SLchWG*, 18 (1803), pp. 263-71.

On this sermon Reinhard declared that ‘I can no longer keep silent about how those in our church who want to be regarded as the most eminent and most enlightened of its teachers (*aufgeklärtesten Lehrer*) are more and more turning away from Luther’s own teachings, the truths of which are demonstrable from the Scriptures. If that great man, whose work we honour today and whose followers we claim to be were to now return from his grave, he would neither recognise such teachers as his followers nor reckon them as belonging to the church that he founded.’<sup>57</sup> Reinhard insisted that ‘the chief doctrine and foundational doctrine (*Hauptlehre und Grundlehre*)’ of the Lutheran church was ‘the doctrine of the free grace of God given in Christ’ and that this ‘must be renewed’.<sup>58</sup>

In light of Reinhard’s strong commitments to Reformation-era Protestant theology, it is surprising to observe that the volume containing his sermons from the year 1800 received a glowing review in 1818 in a periodical published for Catholic religious teachers, *Litteraturzeitung für katholische Religionslehrer*. This journal was edited by Kaspar Anton von Mastiaux, a Catholic priest who had received a doctorate of theology in Rome and who was a member of the Bavarian State Council. Mastiaux’s journal recommended that Reinhard’s sermons be read as antidote for the type of ‘moralistic preaching’ that it found to be overly pervasive in the Catholic Church and which it denigrated as being no different from the ‘heathen orations’ on virtue that had been delivered in ancient Athens and Rome.<sup>59</sup> ‘Morality! Only Morality! Entirely only Morality! So does a great chorus shout from all sides regarding how in our churches there is no longer anything preached from the Bible, from the first centuries of the Church, from the life of Christ, but rather everything is preached from a philosophical moral system...Reinhard’s sermons are a beautiful exception to this.’<sup>60</sup> Five years later, in 1823, van Eß published a collection of nine of Reinhard’s sermons as a kind of catechetical work for Catholics under the title, *The essential doctrines of the Christian*

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<sup>57</sup> Reinhard, *Predigten im Jahre 1800*, p. 272.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 274-76.

<sup>59</sup> Review of ‘*Predigten im Jahre 1800 bey den Churfürstlichen Sächsischen evangelischen Hofgottesdienste zu Dresden gehalten, I-II*’, by Franz Volkmar Reinhard, *LZRL*, 9 (1818), p. 139.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

*faith and life, which are most lucidly and pleasantly laid out in nine sermons by the blessed court-preacher Reinhard.*<sup>61</sup>

An even larger number of Protestants were influenced by the awakening message that was preached by a number of Catholic priests from Bavaria. In 1815 Ludwig Pflaum, a Lutheran pastor in the village of Helmbrechts along the border between Saxony and Bavaria, wrote a widely-read pamphlet entitled *A Question and a Petition to the All of the Protestant Ministers in Germany*, which he distributed to each of the regional church officials (*Dekanate*) of the Protestant churches in Bavaria.<sup>62</sup> Pflaum lamented the degraded spiritual condition of the Protestant clergy and laity. ‘For several decades, the greater part of all Protestants has ceased to devote themselves to the regular reading of their Bibles.’<sup>63</sup> Pflaum alleged that most Protestants had lost their reverence for the Bible because of how many of their ministers preached an ‘anti-Biblical and anti-Protestant faith’, which questioned in what sense, or even if, the Old and New Testaments had been inspired by God.<sup>64</sup> ‘Freedom of thought is the greatest treasure of the human spirit, but it has degenerated into a certain insolence that mocks divine revelation in its entirety. This is because the ancient covering that surrounds the kernel of the Scriptures has become displeasing to modern sensibilities.’<sup>65</sup> Pflaum then asserted that following on from their scepticism regarding the divine origins of the Bible, many Protestant ministers doubted that the Holy Spirit spoke to Churches corporately and to believers individually when they preached from biblical texts. ‘Many ministers anticipate nothing from the Holy Spirit, who blows like a wind through the Holy Scriptures. This is the case, even though it is the task of their office to take hold of and

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<sup>61</sup> Leander van Eß, *Wesenlehren des christlichen Glaubens und Lebens, für Verstand und Herz auf's einleuchtendste und ansprechendste dargestellt in neun Predigten vom seligen Oberhofprediger Reinhard* (Sulzbach: J.E. Seidel Buchhandlung, 1823).

<sup>62</sup> Ludwig Pflaum, *Frage und Bitte and die gesamte protestantische Geistlichkeit in Teutschland* (Leipzig: Dyk'schen Buchhandlung, 1815); Thomasius, *Das Wiedererwachen des evangelischen Lebens in der lutherischen Kirche Bayerns*, p. 83; ‘Johann Ludwig Pflaum’, *NND*, II (1826), 756-69.

<sup>63</sup> Pflaum, *Frage und Bitte*, p. 7.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.



comprehend what the Spirit has inspired in the Scriptures, so that they might share this with the people of their congregation.’<sup>66</sup>

Pflaum lamented that so few people participated in corporate worship services on Sunday mornings, took communion, and baptised their children. He noted that this was the case not only in his native Bavaria, but also in ‘Brandenburg, as Schleiermacher tells us, and indeed in all of the former territories of the Empire’.<sup>67</sup> Pflaum contended that this lack of deference towards the Bible and decline in popular commitment to church life had harmed the German commonwealth. He believed that unless individuals exhibited ‘the fruits of the Spirit: love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faith, gentleness, and self-control’ there could not be a moral society. ‘Mothers now tolerate the shamelessness of their daughters, just like fathers tolerate the debauchery of their sons. The maiden acquiesces to the vulgarities of the one who takes her virginity, just as the youth accepts the degrading proposals of his defiler. The public-at-large sees no shame in the vices of fornication and thinks no worse of the whore than of the virgin.’<sup>68</sup> The general sentiments of Pflaum’s theological and moral diatribe are typical of those Protestants who desired to see a religious awakening in Germany.

What is even more intriguing about his appeal is that he urged his audience of fellow Protestant ministers to look to a renewal movement within the Catholic Church in Bavaria as a model for the religious reform of Protestantism. ‘In our sister church, in the Catholic Church, there has awakened a new organic life. With what sincere devotion has she committed itself anew to her Lord! How energetically and with courage does she confirm anew the foundations of her faith upon which she had been formerly wavering...Do we want to remain comfortably at rest in the bosom of the spirit of the age? Is there nothing that can rouse us from our spiritual and moral slumber?’<sup>69</sup>

Pflaum was alluding to the Catholic religious awakening in the Allgäu region of southern Bavaria that was led by a number of so-called ‘*erweckte Priester*’, that is, ‘awakened Catholic priests.’ Most notably, these were Johann Michael Sailer and Johan

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-11.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

Michael Feneberg (who had served their novitiates together in the Society of Jesus and remained Jesuits until the order was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV in 1773), along with a number of younger priests, who had either studied under Sailer at university or served their curacies under Feneberg: Martin Boos, Johann Evangelista Goßner, Ignaz Lindl, Xaver Bayr, Christoph von Schmid, Andreas Siller, and Johann Langenmayr.<sup>70</sup> The way that these priests preached the gospel and the popular response of Catholics to their messages attracted the attention of Protestants in Switzerland, Württemberg, Thuringia, Brandenburg, and Pomerania.<sup>71</sup>

Among those who took note of their ministries was a group of Prussian nobles and civil servants, who since January 1816 had been meeting for prayer, Bible-reading, and theological discussions in a Berlin tavern.<sup>72</sup> This group called itself the *Maikäferei* after the surname of proprietor of the establishment where it gathered.<sup>73</sup> On 1 July 1816, one of the group's members, Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach, the twenty-one-year old son of the mayor of Berlin, who later became the leader of the *Konservative Partei*'s opposition to Bismarck in the Prussian Parliament, recorded in his diary how they had received 'with great excitement the news of Catholic awakenings in Bavaria'.<sup>74</sup> This news had arrived through a 28 May 1816 letter that Johann Nepomuk von Ringseis, a Bavarian medical student who had attended meetings of the *Maikäferei* during his time at the University of Berlin, wrote from Munich to another member of the group, the University of Berlin law professor Friedrich Karl von Savigny, who was himself a correspondent of

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<sup>70</sup> Johann Michael Sailer, *Aus Fenebergs Leben* (Sulzbach: J.E. von Seidel'schen Buchhandlung, 1841), p. 6; Otto Weiß, 'Religiöse Erneuerung im deutschen Katholizismus am Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Signum in Bonum: Festschrift für Wilhelm Imkamp zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Nicolaus Buhlmann and Peter Styra (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2011), pp. 713-45 (pp. 722-25); Hubert Schiel, 'Michael Feneberg und Xaver Bayr vor dem Geistlichen Gericht in Augsberg', *ZBKG*, 26 (1957), pp. 163-92 (p. 163); Horst Weigelt, 'Die Allgäuer katholische Erweckungsbewegung und ihre Ausstrahlung in den süddeutschen Raum', *PuN* 16 (1990), pp. 173-95 (p. 174); Konrad Baumgartner, *Johann Michael Sailer: Leben und Werk* (Kevelaer: Verlagsgemeinschaft Topos Plus, 2011), pp. 48-50.

<sup>71</sup> Friedrich Kantzenbach, 'Ausstrahlungen der bayerischen Erweckungsbewegung auf Thüringen und Pommern', *ZfO* 5 (1956), pp. 257-63 (pp. 257-58); Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1977), p. 32.

<sup>72</sup> Peter Maser, *Hans Ernst von Kottwitz: Studien zur Erweckungsbewegung des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts in Schlesien und Berlin* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1990), p. 143.

<sup>73</sup> Gerlach, *Aufzeichnungen aus seinem Leben und Wirken*, p. 94; William Shanahan, 'The Social Outlook of Prussian Conservatism', *RP*, 15 (1953), pp. 209-52 (pp. 220-21).

<sup>74</sup> Gerlach, *Aufzeichnungen*, p. 97.

Sailer.<sup>75</sup> Ringseis was elated to tell of how in Bavaria, ‘The days of the earliest apostolic churches have returned. Fornicators, drunkards, gamblers, and swindlers have become pious and sincere, full of faith and love. Maids and servants have been entirely transfigured, their faces radiant. They display such a deep understanding of the Holy Scriptures, that overcome with emotion I am forced to bow my head before them in shame.’<sup>76</sup> Amazed by Ringseis’ report, a number of Prussian elites including Savigny, Ernst Ludwig, Leopold, and Otto von Gerlach, Karl von Lancizolle, August von Bethmann-Hollweg, Karl-Heinrich Sack, Gustav von Below, and Adolf von Thadden-Trieglaff travelled to Bavaria to visit these priests.<sup>77</sup> That these individuals would journey hundreds of miles to meet Catholic priests was even more extraordinary considering how anti-Catholicism had been an aspect of some German nationalist rhetoric during the recent Napoleonic Wars. The popular poet and propagandist Ernst Moritz Arndt had implied that Catholicism was somehow ‘un-German’, when he declared that ‘all of Germany is the land of Protestantism’, while Schleiermacher had preached that although Catholicism was suitable for ‘Latin peoples’, Protestantism was the form of Christianity that most befitted the German ‘*Volk*’.<sup>78</sup>

In his interpretation of the Awakening, the University of Münster professor Kurt Aland identified the meeting of these Prussian nobles and Bavarian priests as a significant moment because of the way in which these Protestants returned to Berlin with a newfound religious zeal. For example, after his meetings in Munich with the Catholic priests Goßner, Boos, and Lindl, Thadden-Trieglaff wrote to a family friend explaining how he had come to eschew his former way of life, which he called his ‘poetic sentimental Christianity’, as ‘the greatest kind of self-deception’.<sup>79</sup> The young

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<sup>75</sup> Kurt Aland, ‘Berlin und die bayrische Erweckungsbewegung’ in *Festschrift für Bischof Otto Dibelius zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by E. Detert and K. Scharf (Gütersloh, 1950), pp. 117-36 (p. 120).

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>77</sup> Friedrich Kantzenbach, *Die Erweckungsbewegung: Studien zur Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und ersten Ausbreitung in Deutschland* (Neuendettelsau: Freimund Verlag, 1957), pp. 85-86.

<sup>78</sup> Wolfgang Altgeld, *Katholizismus, Protestantismus, Judentum: Über religiös begründete Gegensätze und nationalreligiöse Ideen in der Geschichte des deutschen Nationalismus* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald Verlag, 1992), pp. 133-35.

<sup>79</sup> Eleonore Fürstin Reuß, *Adolf von Thadden-Trieglaff: Ein Lebensbild gezeichnet nach Erinnerungen seiner Kinder und Freunde* (Berlin: Verlag von Wilhelm Hertz, 1890), p. 18.

nobleman, who had fought in General Blücher's army at the Battle of Waterloo, professed a new awareness of himself as a sinner who needed a saviour.<sup>80</sup> Adolf von Thadden-Trieglaff then described how he felt that Jesus had personally rescued him from sin, just as the Good Samaritan had rescued the man on the road to Jericho. With a sense of urgency, he now asked himself 'What am I doing to advance the kingdom of Jesus Christ?'<sup>81</sup> In his analysis of the spread of the religious message of the awakened Bavaria priests to northern Germany, Aland went as far as to identify the Catholic renewal movement in Bavaria as 'one of the causes, if not the cause', of the Awakening in the Prussian territories.<sup>82</sup> Friedrich Kantzenbach has even dated the beginning of the Awakening in the Berlin to 10 November 1816, the date of the return of the members of the *Maikäferei*.<sup>83</sup> Although a full discussion of the inner dynamics of the Catholic Awakening is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is important to recognise how the preaching of awakened Catholic priests contributed to the Awakening movement throughout Germany.

On the sesquicentenary of his death in 1982, both Pope John Paul II and the future Pope Benedict XVI joined in the commemorations of the life of Johann Michael Sailer (1751-1832). After joining the Jesuits at the age of 19 and becoming a doctor of theology at 29, Sailer spent the remaining 52 years of his life ministering in a variety of pastoral and educational contexts, including as the professor of dogmatic theology at the Universities of Dillingen and Landshut and as the Bishop of Regensburg.<sup>84</sup> In a papal letter entitled, 'Imitate the Orthodoxy of this Man', John Paul II recognised Sailer as a prolific theologian and eloquent preacher, 'the most effective proponent of the Catholic renewal movement in his homeland, a passionate defender of sound doctrine, and at the same time, a herald of the modern ecumenical movement'.<sup>85</sup> Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger

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<sup>80</sup> Rudolf von Thadden, *Trieglaff: Balancing Church and Politics in a Pomeranian World, 1807-1948* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), pp. 16-18.

<sup>81</sup> Reuß, *Adolf von Thadden-Trieglaff*, p. 19.

<sup>82</sup> Aland, 'Berlin und die bayrische Erweckungsbewegung', p. 119.

<sup>83</sup> Kantzenbach, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, p. 86.

<sup>84</sup> Franz Georg Friemel, 'Erinnerung an die Beziehung Johann Michael Sailers zur Allgäuer Erweckungsbewegung und zu Johannes Evangelista Goßner', *ThG* 49 (2006), pp. 280-86 (p. 280).

<sup>85</sup> John Paul II, 'Die Rechtgläubigkeit dieses Mannes nachahmen', in *Von Aresing bis Regensburg: Festschrift zum 250. Geburtstag von Johann Michael Sailer am 17. November 2001*, ed. by Konrad

similarly commended Sailer as model for Catholic priests in a memorial sermon that he preached to the members of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. According to Cardinal Ratzinger, Sailer had rendered a tremendous service to the Catholic Church by reminding her of the essence of her faith, ‘that God in Christ offers salvation to a sinful world’.<sup>86</sup> Cardinal Ratzinger claimed that Sailer was especially heroic for having done so during a time when the ‘spiritual mystery of the gospel’, was in danger of being lost through attempts ‘by proponents of the religious Enlightenment to elevate reason as the liberator of mankind’ and ‘to reduce religion to morality, and morality to that which was merely of utility to society’.<sup>87</sup>

From 1799 to 1821, Sailer educated a generation of Catholic priests while lecturing in practical theology, ethics, homiletics, liturgy, and catechesis at Landshut.<sup>88</sup> As his biographer Hubert Schiel has observed, the biblical mystical theology of the seventeenth-century Savoyard priest Saint François de Sales exercised a much greater influence upon the development of his theological outlook than did any of the Jesuit dogmatic theologians.<sup>89</sup> Indeed, as a means of pastoral care Sailer exhorted Church members to follow the patterns of Christocentric devotion that had been furnished by the late-medieval German and Dutch mystical writers Johannes Tauler and Thomas á Kempis. In 1794 Sailer reintroduced Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ* through a new translation of the well-known treatise. He recommended it as a book that was unparalleled in its ability to bring about spiritual ‘renewal and vivification’ and one through which ‘the divine power of truth pierced my heart like an arrow, penetrating to the marrow of my innermost being, wounding the old and creating in me a new and

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Baumgartner and Peter Scheuchenpflug (Regensburg: Verlag des Vereins für Regensburger Bistumsgeschichte, 2001), pp. 473-74 (p. 473).

<sup>86</sup> Joseph Ratzinger, ‘Gott spricht mit uns’, in *Von Aresing bis Regensburg: Festschrift zum 250. Geburtstag von Johann Michael Sailer am 17. November 2001*, ed. by Konrad Baumgartner and Peter Scheuchenpflug (Regensburg: Verlag des Vereins für Regensburger Bistumsgeschichte, 2001), pp. 475-79 (p. 478).

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., pp. 476-77.

<sup>88</sup> Georg Aichinger, *Johann Michael Sailer, Bischof von Regensburg: Ein biographischer Versuch* (Freiburg: Herder’sche Verlagshandlung, 1865), pp. 348-49.

<sup>89</sup> Hubert Schiel, ed. *Johann Michael Sailer Breife* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1952), p. 110, pp. 150-53, pp. 193-95.

better life'.<sup>90</sup> Additionally, Sailer recommended that his students for Catholic ministry read the writings of the eighteenth-century Rhenish Reformed mystic Gerhard Tersteegen and those of two contemporary Protestant authors and members of the German Christianity Society, Johann Kaspar Lavater and Johann Heinrich Jung.<sup>91</sup>

Four years later in 1798, at the age of 47, Sailer experienced a time of profound spiritual trial and inner turmoil (*Anfechtung*) that originated from his doubts and fears that his own sins had still not been forgiven and thus that he was not truly righteous before God. He recounted his ordeal in detail in his 1829 autobiographical work, *Bishop Sailer's remembrances: To and for those who are of like heart and mind*. Sailer recorded 'an unforgettable nightmare' that he had had, wherein he had seen himself pursued by hideous demons. After awaking, he described how he got down onto the floor beside his bed and cried out to God for salvation. At this time, Sailer later stated how 'It was as if I then heard a voice from heaven speaking to me, "it is only Christ who can save you, or as Paul has said, it is only God in Christ who reconciles the world to himself. Yield to him. Do not try to run to him through your studies. Learn to die to sin and fully live for Christ alone. This you can only do through unceasing prayer combined with constant self-denial. Set yourself to this work. I am with you: fear nothing!"'<sup>92</sup> Following this vivid dream, Sailer started to preach the gospel in such a manner that some other Catholics began to accuse him of being a crypto-Protestant, particularly because of how he spoke about justification as the sole work of God.<sup>93</sup> Indeed, writing only nine years after his death in 1832, the University of Heidelberg professor of history Friedrich Schlosser claimed in 1841 that the works which Sailer wrote during the later decades of

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<sup>90</sup> Johann Michael Sailer, *Das Buch von der Nachfolgung Christi, verfasst von Thomas von Kempis und neu übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und kurzen Anmerkungen für nachdenkende Christen* (Munich, 1818), p. vi.

<sup>91</sup> Hermann Dalton, *Johannes Gossner: ein Lebensbild aus der Kirche des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Verlag des Goßnerischen Missions-Vereins, 1874), pp. 18-19.

<sup>92</sup> Johann Michael Sailer, *Bischof Sailer's Erinnerungen an und für Geistes- und Gemüthsverwandte* (Sulzabach: J.E. von Seidel'schen Buchhandlung), pp. 38-39.

<sup>93</sup> Aichinger, *Johann Michael Sailer*, pp. v-vi; p. 450; Karl Hagenbach, *Der evangelische Protestantismus in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, IV (Leipzig: Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1843), p. 450; Johann Kurtz, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte zunächst für höhere Lehranstalten* (Mitau: August Neumann's Verlag, 1852), p. 218; Wilhelm Heinsius, *Krisen katholischer Frömmigkeit und Konversionen zum Protestantismus* (Berlin: Verlag Julius Springer, 1925), pp. 24-25.

his life were more widely read by ‘Protestant aristocrats than they were by Bavarian Catholics’.<sup>94</sup>

For example, in a sermon on 2 Corinthians 5:17-21 that he preached in 1810 on the occasion of the consecration of a number of his students to the priesthood, Sailer gave a lengthy exposition of what it meant for them to serve as ‘priests of the new covenant’.<sup>95</sup> He began with a sharp criticism of contemporary Catholic preaching. ‘How seldom it now is that one hears a homily about Christ, and even more seldom that one hears one about how the world is reconciled to God through Christ. Instead priests preach more, more often, and more gladly about morality (*Sittlichkeit*). At the beginning of the history of our Church this was completely otherwise. Then the message of divine reconciliation was the Alpha and Omega of the Apostles’ preaching.’<sup>96</sup>

Sailer was adamant that the priests whom he educated had to be different. He charged them to preach the ‘foundational doctrine (*Grundlehre*) of the new covenant’, which he regarded as consisting of ‘five sub-tenets’: (1) that after humanity had fallen into sin, it needed to be led back to God; (2) that it was God himself who reconciled the world to Him; (3) that God did this through Christ (4) that ‘he made him the sacrifice for sin and the saviour of the sinful race, (5) and that ‘through him we might become the righteousness of God’.<sup>97</sup> Regarding specifically how the believer became righteous, Sailer expounded the doctrines of justification and sanctification exclusively in terms of the believer’s union with Christ by the work of the Holy Spirit. ‘Behold the fruit of reconciliation! We are sinners as the children of the first Adam, but we shall become the righteousness of God, as we are also the children of the second and better Adam.’<sup>98</sup> Sailer emphasised repeatedly that the only righteousness that availed before God was that which God himself effected in the believer.<sup>99</sup> Sailer concluded that upon these five

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<sup>94</sup> Friedrich Schlosser, *Geschichte des 18. Jhs und des 19. bis zum Sturz des französischen Kaiserreichs*, III (Heidelberg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1842), p. 285.

<sup>95</sup> Johann Michael Sailer, *Sonntags-, Fest-, Fasten-, dann allgemeine Gelegenheits- und erste Meß-Predigten und Homilien*, IV (Grätz, 1820), pp. 115-37.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 115-16.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118-19.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.

doctrines of redemption ‘all of the other doctrines of the Church go out from and return back to, and that it is with them that Christianity either stands or falls’.<sup>100</sup>

Sailer’s views were echoed and amplified in the writing of a number of his students. In particular, Sailer endorsed the preaching of Martin Boos. When the later faced a second heresy trial after having already been once imprisoned for heresy from 1797-99, Sailer wrote a 10 May 1811 letter on his behalf.<sup>101</sup> ‘Boos is no fanatic (*Schwärmer*)...I would rather die than condemn a man who possesses so many excellent gifts of the Spirit, one whom is so wondrously guided by God, and who has awakened many thousands of people to repentance faith and godliness...I am now in my sixtieth year and I tremble at the thought of appearing before the judgment seat of God, if I do not loudly confess before I die that Boos is a pious man and that his work is from God!’<sup>102</sup> To date the most comprehensive account of Boos’ life remains the 789-page collection of extracts from his letters and diaries that his friend and fellow priest Johannes Goßner published in 1826, *Martin Boos, The Preacher of the Righteousness that Avails Before God*.

Boos was born on Christmas Day 1762, the tenth child of devout Catholic farmers in the southern Bavarian village of Huttenried. After attending the Jesuit Gymnasium in Augsburg, Boos matriculated in 1784 at the University of Dillingen, where he studied under Sailer.<sup>103</sup> In a 17 December 1811 letter, Boos described how during his student days he experienced tremendous anxiety concerning his salvation and pursued personal holiness through a set of physically challenging spiritual disciplines. ‘For years, in the wintertime I left my bed empty and lay alone on the cold floor. I flagellated myself until I bled. I crowned my body with a hair shirt. I suffered hunger and gave my bread to the poor. I spent every spare hour praying in church or in its crypt. I confessed and took communion almost every eight days. I was unanimously elected the prefect of my congregation’.<sup>104</sup> Yet for all his zeal, Boos commented that he became

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>101</sup> Ursula Senoner, ‘Die Bewegung der Boosianer im Mühlviertel’, *JGGPÖ*, 89 (1973), pp. 3-160 (p. 3).

<sup>102</sup> Johannes Goßner, ed., *Martin Boos der Prediger der Gerechtigkeit die vor Gott gilt: Sein Selbstbiograph: Sein Selbstbiograph* (Leipzig: Karl Tauchnitz, 1826), p. 192.

<sup>103</sup> Senoner, ‘Die Bewegung der Boosianer im Mühlviertel’, p. 3.

<sup>104</sup> Goßner, *Martin Boos der Prediger*, p. 26.



‘ever more gloomy, despondent, and afraid. My heart was always crying out “Oh what a wretched man am I! Who will save me?” But there was no one there to answer, “You will be saved by the grace of God through Jesus Christ.”’<sup>105</sup>

In the section of his biography that he entitled, ‘How Boos become awakened to the life of faith’, Goßner explained how he overcame this dilemma. While visiting an ill, elderly woman in the Alpine village of Unterthingau during his first curacy in 1789, Boos attempted to comfort her by saying ““You will surely pass away in peace and blessedness.” But she asked me, “How do you know this?” I said, “Because you have lived such a pious and holy life.” The sick woman laughed at my words and said, “If I were to die here trusting in my piety, I would know for certain that I would be damned. However, in Jesus, my savior, I can die in confidence.” Her words opened my eyes for the first time.’<sup>106</sup>

While he remained a priest for the rest of his life, ministering in various parishes in Bavaria from 1786 to 1797, and after his first imprisonment, in Austria from 1799 to 1815, Boos hereafter began to preach a message that one twentieth-century University of Zürich Protestant theologian has argued was essentially a mixture of ‘(mostly) Lutheran and (some) Catholic doctrines.’<sup>107</sup> For example, in sermon that he gave on 8 September 1810, the day of the celebration of the birth of the Virgin Mary, Boos rhetorically asked ‘Why is it that Mary, the most holy virgin and the mother of Jesus, has become so renowned and honoured that we celebrate even the day of her birth? Above all it is because she had faith in Jesus Christ.’<sup>108</sup> Boos preached that when a person tried to ‘save themselves and become righteous’ through saying prayers, going to confession, fasting, giving alms, and going on pilgrimages they did not follow the example of Mary. He reminded his audience that she had believed in Jesus from the time that Gabriel first appeared to her and had remained faithful to him until the end of his life as he died on the cross.<sup>109</sup> Boos railed against what he called ‘*Werkheiligkeit*’, the idea that a person

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>107</sup> Senoner, ‘Die Bewegung der Boosianer im Mühlviertel’, pp. 136-38.

<sup>108</sup> Goßner, *Martin Boos der Prediger*, p. 145.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 147.

could make themselves holy through the good works or acts of religious devotion that they did, and held up Mary as a person who ‘believed in Jesus and was born again.’<sup>110</sup>

If we could make ourselves righteous and save ourselves through our works and deeds, the Son of God could have stayed at home in heaven. We would have not needed him to suffer and die for us... If we could make ourselves righteous and holy through our works and deeds, then Jesus should not have said to his disciples: Go and preach the gospel to all creatures. Go bring to them the joyous and saving message and the news that through the difficult path that I have trod to the Father, that through my sufferings they have been snatched from sin, from death, from the devil, that I have justified them before God. Only after doing this did Jesus tell his disciples to baptise people in his name and to teach them to obey everything that he commanded.<sup>111</sup>

Boos was again arrested and imprisoned on heresy charges in Austria during 1815-16, but released through the intervention of the Emperor Franz I. Not long after returning to his native Bavaria, he was expelled in December 1816 by the authority of King Maximilian IV and in April 1817, with a letter of recommendation from Sailer, he accepted a royal appointment from the Prussian government of King Friedrich Wilhelm III to serve as a professor of theology at a Catholic Gymnasium in Düsseldorf.<sup>112</sup> Between 1816 and 1817 three collections of Boos’ writings, edited by Goßner, were printed anonymously in Nuremberg by the Protestant book publisher and member of the German Christianity Society, Johann Philipp Raw: *Christ the end of the law and the righteousness of everyone who believes*; *Sermons for Awakening from a much-tested preacher of the gospel*; and *Christ for us and in us: Our righteousness and holiness according to the witness of the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church, and the oldest and most recent experience*.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp. 145-47.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 147.

<sup>112</sup> Horst Weigelt, ‘Martin Boos: Initiator und wesentlicher Repräsentant der Allgäuer katholischen Erweckungsbewegung’, *ZBKG* 64 (1995), pp. 85-105 (pp. 99-101).

<sup>113</sup> Martin Boos, *Christus das Ende des Gesetzes zur Gerechtigkeit einem Jedem, der da glaubt* (Bethanien, 1817); Martin Boos, *Erweckungs-Reden von einem vielgeprüften Prediger des Evangeliums* (Bethanien, 1818); Martin Boos, *Christus für uns und in uns unsere Gerechtigkeit und unsere Heiligung nach den Zeugnissen der heiligen Schrift, der Väter und der ältesten und neuesten Erfahrung* (Bethanien, 1818); Weigelt, ‘Die Allgäuer katholische Erweckungsbewegung’, pp. 189-91; Emil Weller, *Die falschen und fingierten Druckorte: Repertorium die seit Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst unter falscher Firma*

In these texts Boos became more strident in his criticisms. In the *Sermons for Awakening*, he likened those church officials in Bavaria and Austria who had imprisoned him to the Pharisees and Jewish teachers of the Law that Jesus spoke against in Luke 9 and in the language of Paul's letter to the Galatians he charged that 'many of those who are thought of as good Catholics are actually Judaizers – they want to stand in their own righteousness. They do not want to submit themselves to the righteousness of God that comes through faith in Christ, rather they wish to establish their own righteousness.'<sup>114</sup> In *Christ for us and in us*, Boos reiterated his concerns that many contemporary Christians profoundly misunderstood the work of Christ and its implications for their relationship to God.

He who has eyes to see, sees that the world lies in a pitiful state, and definitely not only the heathen-world, but the Christian-world as well. The so-called Christians have stopped being what they are called, Christians, i.e. those who are anointed. They do not know Christ; they search for their salvation in themselves and in all other things, except in Christ. They stumble over the stumbling stone. Christ the crucified one, the one revealed to us by God for wisdom, for righteousness, for sanctification, and for salvation is to them foolishness or offense – they call those who believe this fanatics or heretics. They seek to assert their own righteousness, because they do not know the righteousness of God that comes through faith in Christ, and they do not want to submit themselves to it. They always preach only of the law, morality, duties, ethics, etc. and say: 'do this, and you shall live.' But neither they nor their listeners do what they preach and teach, and for this reason they remain under the curse; they will not be justified, experience peace and salvation, because anyone is cursed who does not do all that stands written in the book of the law.<sup>115</sup>

After their initial publication in Nuremberg, these were reprinted in Hamburg and Berlin by the Protestant religious tract societies in these cities, and by 1846 *Christ for us and in us* had gone through ten editions.<sup>116</sup> Boos remained in the Prussian Rhineland for the rest

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*erschienen deutschen, lateinischen und französischen Schriften*, I (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1864), p. 224.

<sup>114</sup> Boos, *Erweckungs-Reden*, p. vii.

<sup>115</sup> Boos, *Christus für uns und in uns*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>116</sup> Ludwig Schiller, ed., *Allgemeines Deutsches Bücher-Lexiko oder vollständiges alphabetisches Verzeichniß derjenigen Schriften, welche in Deutschland und in den angrenzenden, mit deutscher Sprache und Literatur verwandten Ländern gedruckt worden sind*, III (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1848), p. 115.

of his life and died in 1825 while serving as a Catholic parish priest in the Diocese of Trier.<sup>117</sup>

Finally, it is important to note how another two of Sailer's students helped to spread the message of the Catholic Awakening to predominantly Protestant areas of Germany, while also contributing significantly towards the growth of the Protestant missionary movement by training over two hundred missionaries. While serving as a priest in Gundremmingen, Ignaz Lindl attracted such large audiences when he preached that he often had to deliver his sermons outdoors; he attracted mixed crowds of between 5,000 and 10,000 Catholics and Protestants.<sup>118</sup> Charged with heresy by Catholic Church officials because of the way he preached the doctrines of soteriology, in October 1819 he appealed for asylum to the Russian ambassador in Munich, and through the intervention of the Baltic German Baroness and mystic, Juliane von Krüdener, Tsar Alexander I appointed Lindl to be the priest of the Church of the Knights of Malta in St. Petersburg.<sup>119</sup> Before departing to Russia, Lindl published a final sermon to his congregation entitled, 'The ancient Catholic faith', which affirmed everything that Sailer and Boos had taught about justification, righteousness, and salvation by grace through faith alone.<sup>120</sup> Lindl went further by claiming that the Catholic Church erred when it taught that one could become righteous through 'confessing one's sins to a priest, taking communion, attending worship services, buying indulgences, and performing meritorious works', rather than 'through faith in Christ'.<sup>121</sup>

Because he held similar beliefs as Lindl, in 1819 Johannes Goßner was deposed from the church in Munich where had had been the priest since 1811. He too sought asylum in Russia and succeeded Lindl in his charge in St. Petersburg when the later was moved to Odessa to be provost of all the Catholic churches in southern Russia.<sup>122</sup> Lindl and Goßner ministered in Russia until 1824, when the Austrian Foreign Minister and

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<sup>117</sup> Weigelt, 'Martin Boos: Initiator und wesentlicher Repräsentant', p. 101.

<sup>118</sup> Franz Heinrich Reusch, 'Ignaz Lindl', *ADB*, XVIII (1883), 698-99.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 698.

<sup>120</sup> Ignaz Lindl, *Die uralte katholische Glaube* (Nuremberg, 1819), pp. 15-17.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>122</sup> Walter Holsten, *Johannes Evangelista Goßner: Glaube und Gemeinde* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1949), p. 4, pp. 31-40.

Chancellor Klemens Fürst von Metternich succeeded in convincing Tsar Alexander I to expel them. Goßner had written to friends in Germany how there were in Russia ‘peoples from all nations and tongues, Catholics, Protestants, Greeks, Jews, Tartars, Samoyeds, Kirghiz, Kamchadals [indigenous peoples of Central Asia and Siberia] Swedes, Finns, Germans, Frenchmen, Poles, Italians, who are voraciously devouring what we preach to them’. He explained that he was able to communicate with such a diverse group of people through translators. ‘Those who cannot understand me, can understand another of my listeners, who interpret for them in their peculiar dialect.’<sup>123</sup> Metternich argued that their sermons had the potential to introduce social instability into Russia and suggested that they might even be agents of a secret revolutionary society or unfriendly foreign power.<sup>124</sup>

After returning to Germany, Lindl and Goßner became members of Protestant Churches in 1824 and 1826. Lindl settled in Barmen, where until his death in 1834 he served as the superintendent of the Barmen Missionary Society’s training academy.<sup>125</sup> Goßner became a prominent minister in Berlin where he succeeded Jänicke at the Bethlehem Church of the Moravian Brethren.<sup>126</sup> At his installation service in 29 he was heralded as a worthy recipient of Jänicke’s mantle.<sup>127</sup> Like Jänicke, Goßner became heavily engaged in educating missionaries. Before he died in 1858, he trained a total of 141 individuals (of whom 125 were tradesmen and 16 university graduates) who went out to Australia, Africa, India, present-day Indonesia, and the United States under the aegis of his Protestant Missionary Society for Spreading Christianity among the Inhabitants of Heathen Lands (*Evangelischen Missionsverein zur Ausbreitung des Christentums unter den Eingeborenen der Heidenländer*).<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Cited in Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, ‘Johannes Evangelista Gossner’, *BBKL*, II (1990), 269-270.

<sup>124</sup> Dalton, *Johannes Gossner*, p. 238.

<sup>125</sup> Burkard Krug, ‘Ignaz Lindl’, *BBKL*, V (1993), pp. 85-86.

<sup>126</sup> Klaus Roeber, ‘Johannes Evangelista Goßner: Skizze seines Lebens’, in *Zwischen Wort und Tat: Beiträge zum 150. Todestag von Johannes Evangelista Goßner*, ed. by Ulrich Schöntube (Neuendettelsau: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 2009), pp. 25-28.

<sup>127</sup> Samuel Marot, *Rede bei der Einführung des Herrn Johannes Goßner, als Prediger der Böhmisches Gemeinde am 12. April 1829* (Berlin: Enslin’schen Buchhandlung, 1829), pp. 3-4.

<sup>128</sup> Niels-Peter Moritzen, ‘Johannes Goßner’, *TRE*, XIII (1984), 591-94; Holsten, *Johannes Evangelista Goßner*, pp. 59-156.

While serving as a Catholic priest in Munich in 1812, Goßner had republished a German translation of French Catholic devotional work from 1732 under the title *Das Herz des Menschen: ein Tempel Gottes, oder eine Werkstatt des Satans, in zehn Figuren sinnbildlich dargestellt, zur Erweckung und Beförderung des christlichen Sinnes* (*The heart of man: A temple of God, or the workshop of Satan: depicted in ten symbolic pictures to awaken and promote the Christian spirit*), a text whose illustrations encouraged the reader to imagine the human heart as a throne room, wherein either God or the devil reigned. After his conversion to Protestantism, this booklet became widely translated and republished by Protestant religious tract societies in Germany, Switzerland, France, Norway, the United Kingdom, the United States, and India; a fifty-fourth edition appeared in Germany in 2006.<sup>129</sup>

This section has discussed how the messages of Protestant and Catholic preachers of religious awakening were received in each other's communities. That these preachers emphasised what both Bishop Sailer and Professor Reinhard termed the 'Grundlehre', of Christianity – that salvation from sin and divine wrath comes through the free grace of God given in Christ – is hardly surprising. It is difficult to find any Church in the history of Christianity that did not profess faith in this belief. What is far more noteworthy is that Catholics and Protestants were united in their concern that this basic teaching had become either corrupted, ignored, or forgotten in their Churches and that they valued its articulation wherever it could be found.

In the final section of this chapter we shall discuss several additional examples of Protestant *Erweckungsprediger* from different areas of German-speaking Europe. By focusing on how they were remembered and memorialised, we will be able to see more clearly how their admirers first constructed the idea of the *Erweckungsprediger* and how this then developed into a major interpretative trope. Hereby scholars of religious history, as well as personally sympathetic Protestants, have been able to conceptualise

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<sup>129</sup> Johannes Goßner, *Das Herz des Menschen : ein Tempel Gottes oder eine Werkstatt Satans; in zehn Sinnbildern* (Lahr: Johannes Verlag, 2006).

the Awakening movement as a nation-wide religious phenomenon, even though it lacked a single national leader.

### 3.3 'Erweckungsprediger' in Local Contexts

Gottfried Menken was one of the first preachers of religious awakening.<sup>130</sup> During the wars of the French Revolution, Frankfurt-am-Main was twice occupied by French soldiers, in 1792 and 1796. On both occasions the French occupation forces imposed heavy financial indemnities upon this erstwhile Free City of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. In response to these events, Menken, then pastor of the Reformed congregation in Frankfurt, published in 1795, and again in 1797, a booklet entitled, *Über Glück und Sieg der Gottlosen (Regarding the Felicity and Victory of the Godless)*.<sup>131</sup> Menken thundered that Frankfurt's misfortunes could be attributed to how in their own city and across Europe the Enlightenment had engendered both unorthodox religious beliefs and unbelief. Menken insisted that this general turning away from God had fostered ungodliness, which had provoked God's wrath against the people of Frankfurt. The conquering French army was God's instrument of punishment, analogous to the Assyrian and Babylonian armies that God had sent to punish ancient Israel and Judah for their disobedience.

In such an evil age, in which, among a perverse people, error passes for the truth, and the truth is taken for error and foolishness, one is not able to know what actually is virtuous; that is, what is it that is laudable in God's sight and what is loathsome to him and what distinguishes between the two. Because men are now striving after a false ideal of human worth, one which they have created for themselves, and because of the impact that the energetic forces of Hell are having everywhere, most people are no longer able to realise that through the philosophy of their age, they have been robbed of the truth, and thereby, they have been robbed of God and of virtue.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Hans-Walter Krumwiede, *Kirchengeschichte Niedersachsens*, II (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1996), pp. 318-19.

<sup>131</sup> Friedrich Auge, *Samuel Collenbusch und sein Freundeskreis: Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westfälischen evangel. Kirche von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts an*, II (Neukirchen: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1907), pp. 48-51.

<sup>132</sup> Gottfried Menken, *Über Glück und Sieg der Gottlosen* (Frankfurt, 1795), p. 6.

Referring with particular disdain to the reception with which Immanuel Kant's major works, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (*The Critique of Pure Reason*, 1781), *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (*The Critique of Practical Reason*, 1788), and *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft* (*Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone*, 1793), had been met, Menken exclaimed, 'Oh, how swiftly and triumphantly has the anti-Christian teaching of Kant spread throughout Germany! Oh, how unbelievably swiftly and with what unbelievable obedience has enlightened Germany bowed itself under the blasphemous and despotic imperatives of this philosophical pope!'<sup>133</sup>

In 1803 Menken published a widely-read collection of sermons on the prophet Elijah. This volume is especially illustrative of his mindset concerning the desperate need for a religious awakening among the German people.<sup>134</sup> Herein, Menken likened the spiritual condition of the Protestant churches in Germany at this time to that of the people of Israel during the reign of King Ahab when, according to 1 Kings 18-19, the prophet accused them of having abandoned the Lord their God to follow Baal.

Our day bears a great resemblance to that of Elijah. Just as things were then among the Israelites, so are they now among Christians. Just as the former had broken the covenant, so too now have the latter done the same. Just as the distinguishing convictions that came from being an Israelite had then died out among the former, so too now the distinguishing convictions that come from being a Christian have disappeared from among the later. Just as the former adopted the ways of the heathen, so too now are the later walking in heathen paths. The time of the prophet was a time of turning away from the Lord the God of Israel; ours is a day of turning away from that which was preached everywhere from the beginning, a day of the most evil and ruinous turning away from the Lord of glory... Today, true Christians are as rare among Christians as true Israelites were then among Israelites.<sup>135</sup>

Menken closed his sober message with the hopeful rejoinder that at this time there were also 'scattered and hidden throughout the world God's elect seven thousand who have

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>134</sup> Johann Osiander, *Zum Andenken Dr. Gottfried Menkens: Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Geschichte der Theologie* (Bremen: Wilhelm Kaiser, 1832), p. 46.

<sup>135</sup> Gottfried Menken, *Christliche Homilien über die Geschichte des Propheten Elias* (Bremen: Wilhelm Kaiser, 1823), p. 302.



not bowed their knee to Baal', those whose 'unity in one faith, one hope, and one love through one spirit', he declared, would be 'revealed on the day of Jesus Christ'.<sup>136</sup>

During the final three decades of his life, from 1802 onwards, Menken ministered as the pastor of Reformed congregations in his native city of Bremen. He published numerous sermons and biblical commentaries in response to his concerns regarding the spiritual condition of German Protestantism.<sup>137</sup> As his biographers have noted, Menken enjoyed a favourable reception among diverse quarters of the populace of the harbour city, from the members of its Senate to its manual labourers.<sup>138</sup> At his funeral on 6 June 1831, Menken's friend and former ministerial colleague Christian Hasenkamp declared in his eulogy that 'the churches of Bremen have lost their most brilliant ornament. From among any church of any confession in the city or its surroundings, there has not been a more excellent preacher.'<sup>139</sup> Forty-eight years later, in 1879, an anonymous editor produced a new collection of extracts from 127 previously unpublished Menken sermons. Along with hundreds of others, these manuscripts had been preserved by a group of women who had regularly transcribed Menken's sermons as he preached them and then circulated their hand-written copies among each other for their personal devotional use.<sup>140</sup>

At the same time that Menken was active in Bremen, the Lutheran minister Claus Harms was similarly enjoining his congregants in Kiel to beware of modern developments in theology and return to the faith of their fathers. Harms, like Menken, denounced the religious Enlightenment as an adversary of authentic Protestantism, likening it to the late-medieval papacy. In conjunction with the tercentennial celebrations of the Reformation in 1817, Harms symbolically promulgated ninety-five new theses on the 'rationalist' spiritual crisis that he then saw plaguing the Church in

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid., pp. 303-4.

<sup>137</sup> Friedrich Kantzenbach, *Theismus und biblische Überlieferung: Beobachtungen zur Theologie der Erweckung* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1965), pp. 12-13.

<sup>138</sup> Bodo Heyne, 'Gottfried Menken (1768-1831) einiges aus seinem Leben und Wirkungskreis', *HEFBKG*, 6 (1969), pp. 7-40 (p. 8).

<sup>139</sup> Christian Hasenkamp, *Gebet und Rede beim Begräbnis des Herrn Gottfried Menken*, (Bremen: Heyse, 1831), p. 10.

<sup>140</sup> Gottfried Menken, *Biblische Betrachtungen von Gottfried Menken* (Bremen: Christian Müller, 1879), p. iii.

Germany. In an intentional echo of Luther's first thesis from 1517, Harms began (thesis 1), 'When our Master and Lord Jesus Christ says: 'Repent!' he wants men to conform their lives according to his teaching; he, however, does not conform his teaching to men, as many now do, according to the changes of the spirit of our age (2 Timothy 4:3).'<sup>141</sup> Harms inveighed that 'reason' had become the 'pope of our times', an 'antichrist that has been placed in God's place', and that (thesis 27) just as the ancient Israelites had fallen into idolatry, through rationalistic theology, modern German Protestants were guilty of religious novelty and of 'creating God in man's own image (Isaiah 44:12-20)'.<sup>142</sup>

Gottfried Ernst Hoffman, one of Harms' mid-twentieth-century interpreters, identified in Harms' theses five main areas in which Harms had insisted that his church had to repent. According to Hoffman, Harms was emphatic that Lutherans needed to repent 'from the false morality of Rationalism and the idolatry of an autonomous conscience, (theses 9-24); from the false doctrines of Rationalism and the idolatry of autonomous reason (theses 25-49); from rationalistic interpretations of the Bible, (theses 50-62); from rationalistic preaching (theses 63-74) and from ecclesiastical union with Calvinists on rationalistic foundations (theses 75-89)'.<sup>143</sup> Just as Menken spoke of the faithful remnant of a scattered seven thousand who were united by their common faith against the errors of the religious Enlightenment, Harms likewise exhibited an ecumenical spirit in his final four thesis. By referring to the main Churches in Germany as the '*evangelisch-katholische Kirche*', the '*evangelisch-reformierte Kirche*', and the '*evangelisch-lutherische Kirche*', Harms indicated that these Churches all shared a faith in the same gospel.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Claus Harms, 'Das sind die 95 theses oder Streitsätze Dr. Luthers theuren Andenkens zum besondern Abdruck besorgt und mit andern 95 Sätzen als mit einer Übersetzung aus Anno 1517 in 1817', in *Claus Harms' Ausgewählte Schriften und Predigten*, I, ed. Gottfried Ernst Hoffman (Flensburg: Christian Wolff, 1955), pp. 209-25 (p. 211).

<sup>142</sup> Harms, '95 Sätzen', pp. 211-14.

<sup>143</sup> Gottfried Ernst Hoffmann, 'Harms' Thesen zum Reformationsjubiläum 1817', in *Claus Harms' Ausgewählte Schriften und Predigten*, I, ed. Gottfried Ernst Hoffman (Flensburg: Christian Wolff, 1955), p. 206.

<sup>144</sup> Harms, '95 Sätzen', p. 225.

Harms' preaching earned him considerable renown. In 1819 the president of the General Consistory of the Lutheran Church in the Russian Empire extended a call to him to come to St. Petersburg and become its bishop, while after Schleiermacher's death in 1834, King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia requested that Harms succeed Schleiermacher as the minister of Holy Trinity Church in Berlin.<sup>145</sup> Harms declined both of these calls in order to continue to serve in his native Holstein, where he died in 1855 after forty-three years of pastoral ministry in the duchy where he had been born. Harms' successor led the public mourning. 'In Schleswig-Holstein, the high and low, the rich and the poor, the learned and the simple are all wailing: Father Harms has died! What can I say? The laments over his passing resound far beyond our borders. Much further than his voice could carry, did his words rouse those who were sleeping, call apostates back to their Saviour, and raise the dead to life. The Protestant Church in Germany numbers him among the first of those who have reawakened it from its sleep of death.'<sup>146</sup>

Fourteen years later, in 1869, the Lutheran minister and social reformer, Johann Hinrich Wichern wrote how it seemed to him that the Protestant churches in Germany were then facing a time of major 'confusion and spiritual desolation'.<sup>147</sup> Wichern rhetorically wished that it might somehow be possible for Harms himself to return and 'raise once again his voice against those who assault the truth'.<sup>148</sup> Wichern maintained that Harms' uncompromising 'opposition against rationalism and witness to glory of Christ', were as greatly needed at this time as they had been during his own lifetime. And so, as the next best alternative, Wichern edited a collection of 28 previously unpublished Claus Harms sermons for the benefit of those who were then engaged in 'the same battles that Harms had fought'.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> 'Kirchengeschichte', *ALZE*, 4 (1821), pp. 377-80 (p. 377); Hans F. Traulsen, *Schleiermacher und Claus Harms: Von den Reden, 'Über die Religion', zur Nachfolge an der Dreifaltigkeitskirche* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), p. 270.

<sup>146</sup> Johannes Lorentzen, *Claus Harms: Ein Lebensbild* (Erlangen: Martin Luther Verlag, 1937), p. 5.

<sup>147</sup> Johann Hinrich Wichern, ed., *Des Christen Glauben und Leben in 28 nachgelassenen Predigten von Dr. Claus Harms* (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1869), p. i.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p. i.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. i.

The year after Harms' death and hundreds of miles to the south, the University of Heidelberg awarded Aloys Henhöfer an honorary doctorate in theology on 29 June 1856. Henhöfer was then in the thirty-third year of his pastorate of two small villages in Baden. The faculty of theology recognised him as 'the courageous confessor and preacher of the pure gospel and the honorable father of the rebirth [*wiederaufblühenden*] of the Christian life in the churches of our Fatherland in our time'.<sup>150</sup> Henhöfer had graduated from the University of Freiburg and then served as a Roman Catholic priest for four years before his views on justification resulted in his expulsion from the Catholic Church on 21 October 1822. Several months later he was ordained minister of a Protestant church that subscribed to the Lutheran Augsburg Confession on 6 April 1823.<sup>151</sup> There were 40 families, totaling 167 persons, who followed Henhöfer from his former Catholic parish into his new Lutheran church.<sup>152</sup>

A succinct expression of the heart of Henhöfer's theology may be seen in the beginning of the catechism he published in 1831 for the examination of candidates for membership into the Lutheran Church in Baden.

Question 2: Which is the way to heaven or to God?

Answer 2: It is repentance und faith, namely the faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Repent and believe in the good news (Mark 1:15). Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and you and your household will be saved (Acts 16:31). The entire confirmation process therefore is concerned with repentance and faith. This doctrine must also be the chief doctrine in all sermons, catechisms, and textbooks. When this is missing or not rightly set forth, then all instruction, all preaching, all catechisms, and all textbooks are vain and pestilent; without these no man shall come to conversion, no man will come to the light and the new life. First repentance and faith, and then from repentance and faith comes salvation and the new life.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Emil Frommel, *Aus dem Leben des Dr. Aloys Henhöfer, weiland römischen Priesters, späteren evangelischen Pfarrers zu Spöck und Stafforth: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des religiösen Lebens in der evangelischen Landeskirche Badens seit den letzten 40 Jahren* (Karlsruhe, Friedrich Gutsch Verlag, 1865), p. 414.

<sup>151</sup> Eckhard Hagedorn, *Erweckung und Konversion: Der Weg des katholischen Priesters Aloys Henhöfer (1789-1862) in die evangelische Kirche* (Basel: Brunnen Verlag, 1993), p. 373, p. 441.

<sup>152</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, 'Aloysius Henhöfer', *BBKL*, II (1990), 715-17.

<sup>153</sup> Aloys Henhöfer, *Konfirmanden Unterricht für die evangelische Jugend unserer Zeit* (Stuttgart: Verlag von P.B. Quack, 1858), p. 1.

Henhöfer has continued to be remembered long after his lifetime. Major celebrations to commemorate the anniversaries of Henhöfer's birth (1789) and death (1862) were held in 1939, 1962, 1989, and 2012.<sup>154</sup> On the occasion of his bicentennial, the Baden pastor Reinhard Berggötz heralded Henhöfer as 'the pastor, who in the four-hundred-and-fifty-year history of our church has been permitted to harvest the most spiritual fruit'.<sup>155</sup> Since 1960, the *Christus Bewegung Baden: eine Evangelische Vereinigung für Bibel und Bekenntnis* (*The Movement for Christ in Baden: a Protestant Association for the Bible and the Augsburg Confession*) within the Baden *Landeskirche* has hosted an annual *Henhöfertag*, which it advertises as 'a conference for spiritually awakened Protestants in Baden'.<sup>156</sup>

In 1856, the theological faculty of the University of Halle awarded an honorary doctorate to Friedrich Ludwig Mallet, a graduate of the University of Tübingen, who since 1817 had been the minister of two Reformed congregations in Bremen, first St. Michael's and then St. Stephen's. The faculty addressed his degree citation, 'to the most faithful shepherd of the flock that has been entrusted to him, to one who has been just as eloquent and loving in proclaiming the word of God as he has been a ready and zealous defender of sacred things against those who profane them, to one who has led innumerable people to eternal life, and to one who has never remained indifferent to the welfare of his city and that of his Fatherland'.<sup>157</sup> The final clause of the citation drew attention to the social work that Mallet had done among the poor children of Germany's second largest port city. On 9 February 1834 he had opened an orphanage and school called the *Zufluchtstätte für Jünglinge* (House of Refuge for Boys).<sup>158</sup> Thirty-eight years

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<sup>154</sup> Reinhard Berggötz, *Erst der Glaube, dann die Tat: Henhöfers Botschaft vom Heilsweg* (Lahr-Dinglingen: Verlag der St.-Johannis-Druckerei C. Schweickhardt, 1987), pp. 7-8; 'Zum 150. Todestag des großen badischen Erweckungspredigers Aloys Henhöfer Gedenken an einen geistlichen Erneuerer und sein Vermächtnis für uns heute', Christus Bewegung Baden, accessed 11 March 2015, <http://www.bibubek-baden.de/html/aktuell.php?seite=Gedenken0an0Erweckungsprediger0Aloys0Henh0fer>.

<sup>155</sup> Berggötz, *Erst der Glaube*, p. 7.

<sup>156</sup> 'Der badische Henhöfertag feierte seinen 50. Geburtstag Jährliches Glaubenstreffen missionarischer Gruppen in der Landeskirche', Christus Bewegung Baden, accessed 10 March 2015, <http://www.bibubek-baden.de/html/aktuell.php?seite=Henh0fertag0feierte0seinen050004600Geburtstag>.

<sup>157</sup> Reproduced in Cornelius Wilkens, *Friedrich Mallet, Doktor der Theologie, Pastor primaries zu St Stephani in Bremen, der Zeuge der Wahrheit* (Bremen, 1872), p. 327.

<sup>158</sup> Klaus Wedekind, 'Die Entstehung der Jugendpflege und ihre Ausgestaltung zu einem neuen Bereich öffentlicher Erziehung' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cologne, 1971), p. 23.

after his death in 1865, Mallet was remembered in an article in the 1903 edition of the *Protestant Encyclopaedia for Theology and the Church*. ‘Mallet’s greatest significance was as a preacher. He possessed a number of impressive gifts for the exercise of this calling: a wealth of ideas, a clear mind, and a vivid imagination....Mallet had a rare friendliness and love for all people, as well as an insatiable enthusiasm for everything that was honourable and noble, above all for the gospel of Jesus and for the German Fatherland. Hearing him speak was like taking a refreshing drink from a mountain stream.’<sup>159</sup>

The ministry of Johann Christian Krafft in northern Bavaria has been remembered in much the same manner as those of Menken and Mallet in Bremen, Harms in Holstein, and Henhöfer in Baden. One of the first individuals to celebrate Krafft’s legacy was Friedrich Julius Stahl, who had followed an unlikely path to his professorial chair in law at the University of Berlin and seat on the Supreme Consistory of the Protestant Church of Prussia.<sup>160</sup> Born into a Jewish family in Bavaria, Stahl was the grandson of Abraham Uhlfelder, the leader of the Jewish community in Munich during the time of its emancipation.<sup>161</sup> After his baptism into the Lutheran Church at age seventeen in 1819, Stahl commenced his university studies in law. He then advanced through the academic ranks with posts at the Universities of Munich, Würzburg, and Erlangen before arriving in Berlin in 1840.<sup>162</sup>

Despite his earlier public conversion to Protestantism, Stahl dated his genuine experience of spiritual awakening to his years as a professor in Erlangen. During this time he had become personally acquainted with Krafft, who was then a professor of theology at University of Erlangen as well as the pastor of a local Reformed congregation. After his death on 15 May 1845, Stahl eulogised Krafft at the 1846 meeting of the General Synod of the Prussian state church, likening him favourably to

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<sup>159</sup> Johann Friedrich Iken, ‘Friedrich Ludwig Mallet’, *RE*, XII (1903), 197-201.

<sup>160</sup> Felix Flückiger, *Die protestantische Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), p. 69.

<sup>161</sup> Edgar Feuchtwanger, ‘The Jewishness of Conservative Politicians: Disraeli and Stahl’, in *Two Nations: British and German Jews in Comparative Perspective*, eds. Michael Brenner, et al (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), pp. 223-40 (p. 224).

<sup>162</sup> Wilhelm Füßl, ‘Friedrich Julius Stahl’, *BBKL*, X (1995), 1130-35.

both the father of German pietism, Philipp Jakob Spener, and also to the English evangelical anti-slavery campaigner, William Wilberforce. Stahl declared Krafft to be, ‘the man who has rebuilt the church in my Bavarian Fatherland, the most apostolic man, whom I have ever met in my life...one who has caused throughout the whole land a springtime to bloom [*aufblühen*], the fruits of which are sure to ripen in eternity.’<sup>163</sup> Stahl used the same metaphor for Kraft’s ministry – the bloom of springtime – as the Heidelberg theological faculty later did for Henhöfer’s ministry. An 1881 biographer of Krafft characterised him as the ‘regenerator of the Protestant church in Bavaria after its deep downfall into rationalism’, and in 1918 a marker was placed into the wall of his manse in Erlangen, which read that this building had been the residence ‘of a blessed instrument of the renewal of Christian life within the Protestant church’.<sup>164</sup>

Arguably, the most well-known of all the *Erweckungsprediger* was Ludwig Hofacker (1798-1828), a Luther minister in Stuttgart in Württemberg. After his early death, Hofacker gained posthumous renown through the publication of his sermons, and through the biography that was written by his friend and fellow minister, Albert Knapp.<sup>165</sup> Despite its formidable length (1,520 pages in the first edition) Hofacker’s *Predigten für alle Sonn-, Fest- und Feiertage nebst einigen Buss- und Bettagspredigten und Grabreden* (*Sermons for Sundays and Holidays, along with Several Penitential Sermons, Sermons for Days of Prayer, and Graveside Orations*) was one of the most avidly read collections of sermons throughout the entire nineteenth century. Following its initial publication in 1831, the tenth edition appeared in 1845, the twentieth in 1857, the thirtieth in 1870, the fortieth in 1887, the forty-fifth in 1901, and the forty-ninth in 1930. American editions of this collection of Hofacker’s sermons began to be printed in German in Philadelphia in 1857. Translations of Hofacker’s sermons were also made into French (1840), Dutch (1851), Danish (1852), Norwegian (1857), and Swedish (1872). More recently, as Gisa Bauer notes in her *Habilitationsschrift* on the history of

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<sup>163</sup> Karl Goebel, ‘Johann Christian Krafft’, *RE*, VIII (1881), 247-49.

<sup>164</sup> Karl Haas, *Reformierte Theologie in Erlangen* (Nuremberg: Athmann Verlag, 2000), p. 19.

<sup>165</sup> Albert Knapp’s biography of Hofacker was first published serially in the Württemberg magazine *Christoterpe: Ein Taschenbuch für christliche Leser* 12-14 (1844-46) then as *Leben von Ludwig Hofacker, weil. Pfarrer zu Rielingshausen* (Heidelberg: Karl Winter, 1852).

‘*Evangelikalismus*’ within the Protestant Churches of West Germany from 1945 to 1989, post-war Protestants of this religious persuasion founded the *Ludwig-Hofacker-Vereinigung* (Ludwig Hofacker Association) in 1951.<sup>166</sup> These Württemberg Protestants were concerned about the degree of theological influence that they perceived Rudolf Bultmann to be gaining within their church. They regarded Bultmann as unorthodox and Ludwig Hofacker symbolised to them a positive, traditional alternative. This group continues to operate to this day and in 2011 renamed itself *Lebendige Gemeinde* (Living Congregation).

As we noted above, it would not be difficult to continue to cite additional examples from many other areas of Germany of how Protestants have remembered certain popular preachers from the time of the Awakening.<sup>167</sup> However, those examples that are furnished by Menken, Harms, Henhöfer, Mallet, Krafft, and Hofacker are sufficient to illustrate how the general phenomenon of the *Erweckungsprediger* appeared in specific local contexts.

### 3.4 Conclusions

This chapter has shown how many early nineteenth-century German priests and ministers assumed that the gospel had become either neglected, forgotten, or misunderstood by most of the members of their churches. Their convictions regarding such a supposed state of ecclesiastical affairs prompted a distinctive type of preaching. The form and contents of their messages were intended to ‘awaken’ those who heard it to faith in Christ, repentance of sins, and a life of Christian obedience. The unusual degree of popular resonance with which certain local pastors’ sermons were received transformed them into well-known regional religious leaders. The circulation of printed collections of their sermons provided homiletic models for other preachers to emulate and further fostered the sense that there was a nationwide movement of religious awakening. Building on how this chapter has considered how preachers articulated

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<sup>166</sup> Gisa Bauer, *Evangelikale Bewegung und evangelische Kirche in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Geschichte eines Grundsatzkonflikts (1945 bis 1989)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2012), pp. 534-36.

<sup>167</sup> Klaus vom Orde, ‘Die erweckliche Predigt im 19. Jahrhundert’, *ZThG* 3 (1998), pp. 278-93.



awakened religious beliefs in church contexts by preachers, the following chapter examines how Protestant theologians developed the same through their work in German universities.

## Chapter Four: The Awakening and Theology

### Introduction

In 1826, the University of Kiel professor of theology August Twesten published a study of Lutheran dogmatic theology, eight years before he was called to succeed Schleiermacher at the University of Berlin. In the middle of his historical survey of the development of Christian doctrine there was a digression, in which Twesten mused over the significance of the present moment of time. The ongoing religious awakening within German Protestantism seemed to Twesten to be a call to scholars to exercise theological leadership in their churches.

The ground has now been prepared and it only awaits the seed of living faith to be sown upon it. The fields are ripe for the harvest. Oh may the Lord of the harvest send out his workers [Luke 10:2]! And why should we not trust in him who planted Christianity among us, he who has advanced and upheld the Church in much more difficult circumstances than those that we face today? He, whose succour our Church has experienced in the course of so many hard struggles, he will not now desert us. He may at this time send someone in the spirit and the power of Luther, who will quickly turn the hearts of fathers to their children [paraphrase of Malachi 4:5-6]. Alternatively, according to his counsels, he may instead permit the crisis that we are in to resolve itself more slowly, and gradually restore the Church to its health and strength. Today, there are many signs of the times that point towards a general arousal of belief.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter analyses the interrelationship between the Awakening movement and Protestant theology. Specifically, it will examine those early nineteenth-century theological developments which were at the time referred to as ‘*die neuere gläubige Theologie*.’ Academics as different as the ‘orthodox’, confessional Lutheran, Ernst Hengstenberg, the pioneering New Testament critic Ferdinand Christian Baur, and the radical ‘Left Hegelian’ Ludwig Feuerbach all remarked upon the appearance of these new ‘believing’ theologians.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> August Twesten, *Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche*, I (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1826), p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Ernst Hengstenberg, *Christologie des Alten Testaments und Commentar über die Messianischen Weissagungen der Propheten*, I (Berlin: Ludwig Oehmigke, 1829), p. 257; Carl Ulmann, Review of *Theologischer Commentar zum Alten Testament*, by Michael Baumgarten, *MNeGR*, 4 (1842), pp. 343-80 (p. 348); Ferdinand Christian Baur, ‘Abgenöthigte Erklärung gegen einen Artikel der evangelischen

To be sure, the phrase, ‘the modern believing theology’, was a polemical term. It was used with different intentions by those who were for and against these new developments. It compared certain early nineteenth-century Protestant theologians with the Reformers (i.e. ‘*die alte gläubige Theologie*’), while it contrasted them with the theologians of the Enlightenment and nineteenth century Protestant rationalism, whom some denigrated as ‘unbelievers (*Ungläubige*)’.<sup>3</sup> The academic careers of these so-called ‘modern believing theologians’ stretched from the early-1820s to the late-1870s. Their first students occupied professorial chairs into the 1890s.

From the mid-nineteenth century, the theologies of these scholars have been known by a number of other names: ‘modern confessional theology (*moderne konfessionelle Theologie*)’, ‘mediating theology, (*Vermittlungstheologie*)’, ‘Right Schleiermacherian theology (*Theologie der Schleiermacherschen Rechten*)’, and ‘awakened theology (*Erweckungstheologie*).’ While such labels are significant historically, they remain nebulous, if not inchoate, descriptions. However, when we consult studies written between 1837 and 1912, and aggregate into one list the scholars who were identified as the proponents of these theologies, a clear consensus of just who was referred to by these terms emerges.<sup>4</sup> By organising these scholars according to the

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Kirchenzeitung Mai 1836’, *TZTh*, 8 (1836), pp. 179-232 (p. 230); Ludwig Feuerbach, *Ueber Philosophie und Christenthum, in Beziehung auf den der Hegel’schen Philosophie gemachten Vorwurf der Unchristlichkeit* (Mannheim: Hoff and Heuser, 1839), pp. 54-56; Bruno Bauer, *Die Religion des Alten Testaments*, I (Berlin: F. Dümmler, 1838), p. 145; Bruno Bauer, ‘Urgeschichte der Menschheit nach dem biblischen Berichte der Genesis’, *ZsT*, 3 (1837), pp. 125-210 (p. 125); Hermann Adalbert Daniel, *Theologische Controversen* (Halle: Johann Friedrich Lippert, 1843), p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Johann Lange, *Ueber die Neugestaltung des Verhältnisses zwischen dem Staat und der Kirche* (Heidelberg: Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1848), p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Ludwig Pelt, *Der Kampf aus dem Glauben und die religiösen Parteien unserer Zeit* (Kiel: Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1837), pp. 43-47; Anton Pelt, *Theologische Encyclopädie als System im Zusammenhange mit der Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaft und ihrer einzelnen Zweige* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1843), pp. 32-33; Karl Schwarz, *Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie* Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1856), pp. 31-32; Philipp Schaf, *Das Princip des Protestantismus* (Chambersburg, PA: Druckerei der Hochdeutsch-Reformirten Kirche, 1845), p. 136; Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacker, ‘On the Religious State of Germany and its Infidelity’, in *Religious Condition of Christendom*, ed. by Edward Steane (London: James Nisbet, 1852), pp. 415-30 (p. 421); Isaak Dorner, ‘On the Universities of Germany’, in *The Religious Condition of Christendom, Second Part*, ed. by Edward Steane (London: Evangelical Alliance, 1857), pp. 268-80 (p. 277); Sixt Kapff, ‘The Religious Condition of Protestant Germany’, in *The Religious Condition of Christendom, Second Part*, ed. by Edward Steane (London: Evangelical Alliance, 1857), pp. 193-258 (p. 199); Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacker, ‘On the Contending Forces of Infidelity and Faith in Germany’, in *The Religious Condition of Christendom, Second Part*, ed. by Edward Steane (London: Evangelical Alliance, 1857), pp. 287-93 (p. 290); Philip Schaff, *Germany: Its Universities, Theology, and*

universities at which they held their final academic appointments, we can better recognise both how many individuals were originally comprehended by these terms and how widely they were dispersed within German academia. These scholars occupied professorial chairs in fifteen of the then sixteen Protestant theological faculties of German universities, as well as those in several closely related foreign universities.

University of Basel

Johann Stähelin (1797-1875)  
Karl Hagenbach (1801-1874)  
Karl Auberlen (1824-1864)

University of Bonn

Karl Sack (1789-1875)  
Friedrich Bleek (1793-1859)  
Richard Rothe (1799-1867)  
Johann Lange (1802-1884)  
Karl Hundeshagen (1810-1872)

University of Dorpat

Ernst Sartorius (1797-1859)  
Johann Kurtz (1809-1890)

University of Erlangen

Hermann Olshausen (1796-1839)  
Johann Höfling (1802-1853)  
Gottfried Thomasius (1802-1875)  
Friedrich Ehrenfeuchter (1814-1878)  
Hermann Reuter (1817-1889)

University of Berlin

Friedrich Strauß (1786-1863)  
Karl Immanuel Nitzsch (1787-1868)  
August Neander (1789-1850)  
August Twisten (1789-1876)  
Ernst Hengstenberg (1802-1869)  
Isaak Dorner (1809-1884)  
Ferdinand Piper (1811-1889)  
Franz Steinmeyer (1811-1900)

University of Breslau

Johann Scheibel (1783-1843)  
Wolfgang Geß (1819-1891)  
August Hahn (1792-1863)

University of Göttingen

Friedrich Lücke (1791-1855)  
Ludwig Schöberlein (1813-1881)  
Johann Herzog (1805-1882)  
Johann von Hofmann (1810-1877)  
Heinrich Schmid (1811-1885)

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*Religion* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857), pp. 155-56, pp. 239-57; Heinrich Dittmar, *Die Geschichte der Welt vor und nach Christus*, VI (Heidelberg: Universitätsbuchhandlung von Karl Winter, 1862), pp. 620-21; Wilhelm Gaß, *Geschichte der Protestantischen Dogmatik in ihrem Zusammenhange mit der Theologie*, IV (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1867), pp. 447-49, pp. 474-75, p. 495, p. 533, p. 576, p. 655; Isaak Dorner, *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie, besonders in Deutschland, nach ihrer principiellen Bewegung* (Munich: J.G. Cotta Buchhandlung, 1867), pp. 813-15; Karl Schwarz, *Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1869), pp. 233-40, p. 262, pp. 308-10, pp. 348-52; Johann Kurtz, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende*, II (Witau: August Neumann Verlag, 1874), pp. 307-17; Otto Zöckler, 'Allgemeine Kirchengeschichte', in *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften in encyclopädischer Darstellung*, II, ed. Otto Zöckler (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck Verlag, 1889), pp. 31-300 (pp. 280-81); Gustav Frank, *Die Theologie des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1905), pp. 246-318, pp. 422-524; Martin Kähler, *Geschichte der protestantischen Dogmatik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1962), pp. 82-192.

University of Greifswald

Friedrich Hasse (1808-1862)

Karl Vogt (1808-1869)

University of Heidelberg

Friedrich Umbreit (1795-1860)

Karl Ullmann (1796-1865)

Daniel Schenkel (1813-1885)

University of Kiel

Anton Pelt (1799-1861)

Christian Thomsen (1803-1872)

University of Jena

Karl von Hase (1800-1890)

University of Leipzig

Friedrich Lindner (1779-1864)

Christian Niedner (1797-1865)

Karl Liebner (1806-1871)

Adolf von Harleß (1806-1879)

Gotthard Lechler (1811-1888)

Franz Delitzsch (1813-1890)

Karl Kahnis (1814-1888)

University of Rostock

Friedrich Adolf Philippi (1809-1882)

University of Tübingen

Georg Ewald (1803-1875)

Johann Beck (1804-1878)

Wilhelm Hoffmann (1806-1873)

Maximilian Landerer (1810-1878)

Johann Ebrard (1818-1888)

University of Göttingen

Friedrich Lücke (1791-1855)

Ludwig Schöberlein (1813-1881)

Friedrich Ehrenfeuchter (1814-1878)

Hermann Reuter (1817-1878)

University of Halle

Hermann Hupfeld (1796-1866)

August Tholuck (1799-1877)

Julius Müller (1801-1878)

Ferdinand Guericke (1803-1878)

Justus Jacobi (1815-1888)

Willibald Beyschlag (1823-1900)

University of Königsberg

Wilhelm Erbkam (1810-1884)

Heinrich Hävernick (1811-1845)

University of Marburg

August Vilmar (1800-1868)

Ernst Henke (1804-1872)

Heinrich Heppe (1820-1879)

Christoph Luthardt (1823-1902)

University of Strasburg

Charles Schmidt (1812-1895)

University of Zürich

Alexander Schweizer (1808-1888)

Gustav Oehler (1812-1872)

The remainder of this chapter will not attempt to resolve the discussions of the last 175 years about what labels most precisely elucidate the positions of those theologians who have been previously characterised as ‘believing’, ‘confessional’, ‘mediating’, and ‘awakened.’ Rather, it is more illuminating for the study of nineteenth-century German Protestantism to recognise how many university theologians in the late-1810s, 1820s, and early-1830s had been affected by the Awakening movement. Their

personal experiences of awakening informed their disparate efforts to ‘reform’ or ‘regenerate’ Protestant academic theology.

For example, consider how Agnes Olshausen described her husband, Hermann Olshausen, a professor of theology at the Universities of Königsberg and Erlangen, after his early death in 1839.

After two years at the University of Kiel, he went in the autumn of 1816 to Berlin to complete his studies. His stay there was decisive as much for his spiritual life, as it was for his future in the world. There he found a circle of friends in whom faith in Christ had become alive. He now became fully conscious of what until this time had existed within him only as a dim inkling. Through repentance he came to faith and in all his endeavours from that time onwards he sought to be a faithful servant of the Church of his Lord and Saviour.’<sup>5</sup>

The sharpest distinctions among the varieties of so-called ‘believing’ scholars are evident only in their whole body of work. However, in their early works we are able to observe strong similarities in their motivations for writing theology. But before we begin this analysis, it will first be helpful to make several contextualising observations about how Protestant theology developed in Germany under the influence of the country’s universities.

#### **4.1 Universities and the development of German Protestant theology**

From Wittenberg and Heidelberg during the Reformation and the ensuing era of Protestant Scholasticism, to Halle and Göttingen during the epochs of Pietism and the Enlightenment, to Berlin and Tübingen in the nineteenth-century and early-twentieth centuries, the university theology faculties profoundly shaped the ethos and praxis of German Protestantism. University academics exercised a special formative intellectual and spiritual influence upon the churches’ pastors during their period of preparatory study for ministry. Simultaneous with their academic duties, full professors (*Ordinarien*) were almost invariably senior state officials in their capacity as members of their

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<sup>5</sup> Agnes Olshausen, ‘Nekrologe des Jahres 1839 – Hermann Olshausen’, *ARtLkS*, 30 (1840), pp. 91-94 (pp. 91-92).

churches consistories (*Konsistorien*). These were the highest ecclesiastical courts and governing bodies of their respective churches, which had been founded to replace the office and functions of bishops at the Reformation.<sup>6</sup>

In the early nineteenth century the universities were a particular source of pride in Germany. During the Napoleonic Wars, they provided an inspiring national symbol of German achievement. As the Bavarian poet Jean Paul Friedrich Richter mused after considering Nelson's victory over the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar on 21 October 1805 and Napoleon's equally impressive defeat of the Austrian and Russian armies at Austerlitz on 2 December 1805: 'Providence has given to the French the empire of the land, to the English that of the sea, and to the Germans that of the air!'<sup>7</sup> Richter's aphorism held a latent *double entendre*. On the surface, it made light of the French Empire's annexation of the German territories along the coast of the North Sea and the left bank of the Rhine, and the reduction of Prussia and the member states of the Confederation of the Rhine into French vassals. But on a deeper level, Richter encouraged German people to be proud of their 'empire of air', and of their intellectual triumphs, which he claimed were greater than the military victories of Trafalgar and Austerlitz. Likewise, the celebrated French woman of letters Germaine de Staël waxed eloquent in her widely read 1813 work *De L'Allemagne*: 'Prussia is the country of thought.'<sup>8</sup> The daughter of Louis XVI's minister of finance Jacques Neckar and his wife Suzanne Curchod, the hostess of one of ancien régime Paris' most fashionable salons, Madame Staël was lavish in her praises of German learning. 'The entirety of the north of Germany is filled with the most scholarly universities in Europe. In no country, not even in England, are there as many institutions of education, and such a degree of perfection in the academic faculties as in Germany...Since the Reformation the Protestant universities have been incontestably superior to the Catholic universities; all the literary glory of Germany is based on these institutions.'<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Meier, 'Konsistorien' *RE*, VIII (1881), 193-99.

<sup>7</sup> Cited in Anne Louise Germaine Staël-Holstein, *De L'Allemagne* (Paris: H. Nicolle, 1813), p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 160-61.

Following the closure during the Napoleonic Wars and immediately afterwards of six universities with Protestant theological faculties (Altdorf, Erfurt, Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, Helmstedt, Rinteln, and Wittenberg), there were in 1820 sixteen universities in Germany where it was possible to study Protestant theology: Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Erlangen, Giessen, Göttingen, Greifswald, Halle, Heidelberg, Jena, Kiel, Königsberg, Leipzig, Marburg, Rostock, and Tübingen. To place this into comparative perspective there were at this time seven Protestant theological faculties in the universities of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, St Andrews; Cambridge, Oxford; Dublin) and sixteen elsewhere in all of continental Europe: five in Switzerland (Basel, Berne, Geneva, Lausanne, Zürich), four in the Netherlands (Amsterdam, Groningen, Leiden, Utrecht), two in Sweden (Lund and Uppsala), and one each in Denmark (Copenhagen), France (Strasbourg), Hungary (Debrecen), Norway (Christiania), and Russia (Dorpat).<sup>10</sup>

The philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel claimed a special place for these universities in German Protestant religious life. He asserted that the education they imparted enabled Protestants to be Protestants. According to Hegel, it was the universities that prepared Protestants to exercise ‘the common priesthood of believers (*allgemeine Priestertum der Gläubigen*)’, which in Protestant ecclesiology was believed to be held collectively by all church members and not one specially consecrated individual. Hegel discussed these ideas in a 12 July 1816 letter that he wrote to his friend Friedrich Niethammer, who at this time was a state official in Bavaria. Hegel and Niethammer had known each other since their undergraduate days when they resided together in the theological college (*Evangelischer Stift*) at the University of Tübingen. ‘Here lies the difference between Catholics and Protestants: we do not have a laity in our Church. The Protestant faith is not entrusted to the hierarchical organisation of a Church, but rather lies in the common discernment and *Bildung* of its members...[thus] our universities and schools are our Church.’<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Franz Eulenburg, *Die Frequenz der deutschen Universitäten von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1904), p. 319.

<sup>11</sup> G.W.F. Hegel, *Briefe von und an Hegel*, II, ed. Johannes Hoffmeister (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1969), p. 89.



In a letter of 10 October 1816 to Niethammer, Hegel set out more clearly how *Bildung* was necessary for the exercise of the common priesthood in Protestantism and how the universities were essential to the promotion of a ‘*gebildete Gemeinde*’, i.e. a mature and discerning church community.

We Protestants actually do not have any laity. Every member of the congregation has the same right and the same share of responsibility in determining and preserving the essence of the Church in its doctrine and discipline. The source of our protection from error is not the decrees of Church Councils, nor those clergy who are commissioned to uphold them, but rather it is the *Gesamtbildung* of the congregation. This source of protection ultimately comes to us through our universities and secondary educational institutions. All Protestants regard these institutions as their bishop, their ‘Rome’....The only authority for Protestants is the intellectual and moral *Bildung* of everyone, and the guarantors of such *Bildung* are these institutions.<sup>12</sup>

Hegel’s point about the universities as the ultimate source of authority in the German Protestant Churches was especially apropos during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1802 and 1822, many of the territorial churches of the principalities and kingdoms that had historically adhered to either the Lutheran Augsburg Confession or one of a number of Reformed confessions merged together and became *Unionskirche*.<sup>13</sup> The first of these United Protestant churches appeared in Cologne, Düren, Geldern, Koblenz, Neuss, Simmern, and Stolberg between 1802 and 1808, after these cities and towns were annexed into the French Empire’s *Départments* of Rhin-et-Moselle and de la Roer.<sup>14</sup> Similar unions of Lutheran and Reformed churches followed in Bavaria after the Electorate absorbed some 90 historically Protestant principalities during the disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire. After these annexations, 25% of the Wittelsbachs’ subjects were Protestants, a demographic development which prompted Elector Maximilian IV to announce full civil rights for

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>13</sup> Hermann Niemeyer, ed., *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicaturum* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt, 1841).

<sup>14</sup> Dietrich Meyer, ‘Rheinland: Anschluß an Preußen, Union, Erweckung, Innere Mission’, *TRE*, XXIX (1998), 157-77.-

Lutherans and the Reformed in his *Religionsedikt* of 10 January 1803.<sup>15</sup> Similar unions were enacted in other German states of greatly varying sizes: Baden (1806), Nassau (1817), Prussia (1817) Electoral Hesse (1818), Anhalt-Bernburg (1820), Waldeck (1821) and the Grand-Duchy of Hesse (1822).

These unions often entailed the subordination or elimination of the Reformation-era confessions of faith of as sources of ecclesiastical authority. For example, in the Act of Union promulgated in Prussia on 27 September 1817, King Friedrich Wilhelm III declared that the new '*evangelische-christliche Kirche*' of the Prussian realm would be founded on the 'spirit of Protestantism' and 'the principal tenets of Christianity that are shared by both confessions'. The king further stated that he would rely upon the 'wise leadership of the consistories and the pious zeal of the clergy' to distinguish the essential tenets from the 'non-essentials' and 'secondary issues' upon which the two confessional communities had formerly disagreed.<sup>16</sup> Even more strongly, a year later in 1818 the newly united Protestant church in Bavaria announced at its general synod that 'The *protestantische-evangelische-christliche Kirche* recognizes nothing besides the New Testament as the standard of her faith. She declares that all the confessional books that heretofore have been adhered to by the Protestant churches are now completely abolished.'<sup>17</sup> There is some anecdotal evidence that many lay Protestants at this time did not attach much importance to the Reformation-era confessional identities. In 1819, one Bavarian church official recorded how among the congregations of Speyer, there were 40,167 Lutheran and Reformed church members who voted in favor of the new ecclesiastical union as opposed to only 539 who voted against it.<sup>18</sup> In such circumstances, without guidance from a confessional standard, the churches were

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<sup>15</sup> Karl Fuchs, *Annalen der protestantischen Kirche im Königreich Baiern, von dem Regierungs-Antritt Königs Maximilian Joseph I. in Jahre 1799, bis zur Bildung eines protestantischen Ober-Consistoriums im Jahre 1818* (Nürnberg, 1819), p. 7. Wilhelm Volkert, 'Kultus: Protestantische Kirche', in *Handbuch der bayerischen Ämter, Gemeinden und Gerichte, 1799-1980*, ed. by Wilhelm Volkert (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1983), pp. 229-30. For an extensive list of these territories see Emil Friedrich Heinrich Medicus, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche im Königreiche Bayern* (Erlangen: Verlag von Andreas Dichert, 1863), pp. 1-3.

<sup>16</sup> J.F. Gerhard Goeters and Rudolf Mau, eds., *Die Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche der Union*, I (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1992), p. 91.

<sup>17</sup> Cited in Martin Stiewe, 'Unionen: Deutschland', *TRE*, XXXIV (2002), 323-27.

<sup>18</sup> Karl Fuchs, *Annalen der protestantischen Kirche im Königreich Baiern* (1819), p. 81.

especially dependent on university theologians to explain to them just what were ‘the principle tenets of Christianity’.

In a sermon that he published in November 1833, three months before he died, Friedrich Schleiermacher remarked how this sort of didactic dependence of the church upon its theologians was not to be regarded as a problem. Rather, Schleiermacher recognised the work of theologians as part of how God continually cared for the church’s needs.<sup>19</sup>

We see how from time to time throughout its history the church of Christ has fallen into entanglements that have been set by those who were outside of it, just as it has been sometimes led into darkness by those who were within it. For these reasons, the Spirit of God has had to lay outstanding power upon a certain few individuals and ignite within their souls an outstandingly bright light, in order that from these points there might shine forth new life. This new life spreads further and further and penetrates the darkness, where, in the name of the Lord, it awakens those who were dead to a fresh, new life...Therefore, as we often derive from the life and work of such an individual the feeling that he is to a greater or lesser degree a special instrument of God and of his Spirit, we can become fearful of the time when his labours shall cease. However, such trepidation in our hearts does not come from faith. We ought to know that when the Lord calls one of his witnesses back to him, he calls and appoints another to take his place. The Lord will never fail to have the instruments whom he needs to finally accomplish that work which has already been everlastingly accomplished by and through his Son. In the course of time, his work will be carried closer and closer towards its completion with the increasing cooperation of men as they are enlightened and directed by God.<sup>20</sup>

During the era of the Awakening, sympathetic German Protestants began to recognise a number of their universities’ theologians as the kind of ‘awakeners’ whom Schleiermacher had here described. We will now consider in greater detail how these scholars have been interpreted.

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<sup>19</sup> Friedrich Schleiermacher, ‘Vorschriften für den Schmerz bei dem Verlust unserer Brüder’, in *Christliche Festpredigten*, I (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1833), pp. 549-69.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 561-63.

## 4.2 'The modern believing theology'

Supporters of the 'awakened' scholars maintained that their 'believing' perspective brought a needed corrective to the academic discipline of theology. For example, in an 1834 work, Johann Scheibel (born 1783) lamented how 'the numerous theological investigations, which have been stimulated by the maturation of philology and philosophy in Germany since the second half of the eighteenth century, have often been carried out in the service of unbelief (*Unglaubens*)'.<sup>21</sup> Two years before, Scheibel had been dismissed from his chair at the University of Breslau, after more than two decades of service, by the Prussian *Kultusminister* Karl von Altenstein because of his vocal support for Lutheran seceders from the Protestant Church of Prussia. On this occasion, Scheibel defiantly replied in a letter to Altenstein, 'I am, as you know, not merely a professor of a royal Prussian university and a deacon of the St. Elisabeth Church in Breslau, but I am also a doctor of theology. As such, I belong to the German Empire, to the Lutheran Church, and to all of the learned theologians of Europe. I am not only licensed, but in fact, I am obligated to theologically counsel all of those who have the need thereof.'<sup>22</sup>

In the book that he wrote while in exile from Prussia in Saxony, Scheibel described how intellectually isolated he had felt when he had taken up his university post in Breslau in 1811.

At this time, *die gläubige Theologie* had long been in state of deep decay. It was declared that most of the books of the Bible had been shown to be inauthentic. Biblical doctrines were for the most part considered to be the myths and erroneous beliefs of the Jews. The Apostles had misunderstood Christ. Whatever was against reason was impossible to believe in. The so-called 'orthodox beliefs' had been first dreamed up by the Church Fathers. All of the universities of Germany were filled with these heresies.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Johann Scheibel, *Actenmäßige Geschichte der neuesten Unternehmung einer Union zwischen der reformirten und lutherischen Kirche* (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1834), p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> Peter Hauptmann, *Johann Gottfried Scheibel: Vom innersten Wesen des Christentums: Auszüge aus dem Schrifttum des Breslauer Lutheraners* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2009), p. 41.

<sup>23</sup> Scheibel, *Actenmäßige Geschichte*, p. 20.

Then following after ‘the time of the [Napoleonic] wars and our dire need’, Scheibel observed the proliferation of ‘pious teachers in the universities’.<sup>24</sup> These scholars were among those ‘in whom the newly aroused feeling of a deep, serious, and true longing for Jesus had been awakened by holy and pious preachers and poets, and by those who wrote the devotional literature that was distributed throughout Germany by the many religious tract societies’.<sup>25</sup> At the other end of German-speaking Europe, near the Danish border, far from Scheibel’s university in Silesia, the University of Kiel professor of theology Ludwig Pelt offered a similar analysis of the recent history of German Protestant religious life in his 1837 booklet, *The struggle of faith and the religious parties of our time*.<sup>26</sup>

Many, however, were unfavourably disposed towards ‘the modern believing theologians’. They condemned what they saw as a regression to pre-Enlightenment understandings of Christian doctrine. They intimated that in their ‘believing’, these scholars were intellectually dishonest. For example, in 1838 and 1839, both the University of Berlin theology lecturer Bruno Bauer and the former University of Erlangen philosophy lecturer Ludwig Feuerbach criticised as intrinsically unscholarly the presuppositions that ‘believing theologians’ held about the divine inspiration of the books of the Old and New Testament.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, the only criticism that one anonymous reviewer made in his otherwise glowing review of Philipp Schaf’s 1841 University of Berlin doctoral thesis (*Promotion*) on the meaning of ‘the sin against the Holy Spirit’ was that the future professor in the United States had, ‘too easily and quickly accepted several of the favourite assumptions of the modern believing theology.’<sup>28</sup> In their respective works, *The Essence of Christianity* (1841) and *Christianity Uncovered: A*

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 20. Scheibel mentions Georg Knapp, professor at the University of Halle; August Neander, Berlin; August Tholuck, Halle; Carl Christian Flatt, a General Superintendent of the Church of Württemberg; Johann Steudel, Tübingen; Hermann Olshausen, Erlangen; August Hahn, Leipzig; Friedrich Strauß, Berlin.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>26</sup> Ludwig Pelt, *Der Kampf aus dem Glauben und die religiösen Parteien unserer Zeit* (Kiel: Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1837).

<sup>27</sup> Bauer, *Die Religion des Alten Testaments*, pp. 5-6; Feuerbach, *Ueber Philosophie und Christenthum*, pp. 42-47.

<sup>28</sup> Anonymous, Review of *Die Sünde wider den heiligen Geist und die daraus gezogenen dogmatischen und ethischen Folgerungen*, by Philipp Schaf, *ZglThK*, 2.3/4 (1841), p. 141.

*Memorial to the Eighteenth Century and a Contribution to the Crisis of the Nineteenth Century* (1843), Feuerbach and Bauer reached the similar conclusion that it was only fools and knaves who believed in Christianity.<sup>29</sup> Julius Müller, a ‘believing theologian’ at the University of Halle, responded polemically to Feuerbach and Bauer in his 1843 pamphlet *The relationship between dogmatic theology and the anti-religious tendencies of our present time*. ‘What the atheists today are proclaiming as their great new discovery, we have known for ages: when you firmly shut the eyes of your heart, religion disappears.’<sup>30</sup>

#### 4.3 ‘Modern confessional theologians’ and ‘mediating theologians’

As the theologies of the ‘believing theologians’ matured, contemporary observers soon discerned two main schools of thought among them. In the 1840s and 1850s, scholars began to relabel those whom they perceived to be striving for ‘the restoration of the old orthodoxy (*Wiederherstellung der alten Orthodoxie*)’ as ‘modern confessional theologians (*moderne konfessionelle Theologen*)’.<sup>31</sup> Others, who pursued a different vision for the future of Protestant theology, were conceived as ‘mediating theologians (*Vermittlungstheologen*)’ or, synonymously, as ‘right-wing Schleiermacherians (*Theologen der Schleiermacherschen Rechten*)’.<sup>32</sup>

The meaning of the label ‘modern confessional theology’ is not difficult to understand. It describes those nineteenth-century scholars in the Lutheran tradition who remained committed to the dogmatic framework of the 1580 Book of Concord. For such

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<sup>29</sup> Ernst Barnikol, *Das entdeckte Christentum im Vormärz: Bruno Bauers Kampf gegen Religion und Christentum und Erstausgabe seiner Kampfschrift* (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1989), pp. 81-85.

<sup>30</sup> Julius Müller, *Das Verhältniß der dogmatischen Theologie zu den antireligiösen Richtungen der gegenwärtigen Zeit* (Breslau: im Verlage bei Josef Max, 1843).

<sup>31</sup> Pelt, *Theologische Encyclopädie als System*, pp. 32-33; Karl Schwarz, *Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1856), pp. 70-77.

<sup>32</sup> Karl Hagenbach, *Ueber die sogenannte Vermittlungstheologie* (Zürich: Verlag von Meyer and Zeller, 1858), pp. 4-9; Dittmar, *Die Geschichte der Welt*, pp. 620-21; Zöckler, ‘Allgemeine Kirchengeschichte’, pp. 280-81; Johann Heinrich Kurtz, Gottlieb Bonwetsch, and Paul Tschakert, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende*, II (Leipzig: August Neumann’s Verlag, 1899), p. 44; Walter Sens, ‘Die irreligiöse Entwicklung von Karl Marx’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Halle, 1935), p. 9; Gerhard Meier-Reutti, ‘Die Bergpredigt in der evangelischen und ausserkirchlichen Publizistik des 19. Jahrhunderts: Reform, Restauration, Revolution’, (Habilitationsschrift, University of Erlangen, 2001), pp. 122-23.

scholars, the Book of Concord formed the epitome of the Christian faith, providing safeguards against heresy and theological individualism. It enabled believers to stand in solidarity with all those churches holding the same confession of their faith.<sup>33</sup>

Confessional theologians founded a number of academic journals to promote their theological views. Prominent among them were the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* (published from 1827 to 1930), edited by the University of Berlin professor Ernst Hengstenberg, the *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche* (1838-76), edited by the University of Leipzig professor Adolf von Harleß, and the *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche* (1840-78), edited by the University of Halle professor Ferdinand Guericke and the Danish minister Andreas Rudelbach.<sup>34</sup>

In contrast to the clarity of the term ‘modern confessional theology’, the meaning of the label ‘mediating theology (*Vermittlungstheologie*)’ is less immediately self-evident. This term originates from the editorial that Karl Ullmann and Friedrich Umbreit, two of Friedrich Schleiermacher’s students who became professors of theology at the University of Heidelberg, wrote in 1828 in order to explain the purpose of their new theological journal, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken: Beiträge zur Theologie und Religionswissenschaft* (which would continue to be published until 1947). Their notion of theological ‘mediation (*Vermittlung*)’ described the dialectical relationship that they believed to exist between faith (*Glauben*) and scholarship (*Wissenschaft*).

The editors of this journal are unashamed to confess their faith in simple biblical Christianity, in the sense that they hold the same to be the true word of God and his salvation. They recognise the Gospel alone as the word of eternal truth itself. Therefore, it is precisely because of this that they are firmly convinced, that as the Gospel is at once both light and life, it makes no lesser claim upon our thinking and our scholarship (*Erkenntniß und Wissenschaft*) than it does upon our faith (*Glauben*). Just as there cannot be any truly Christian theology without Christian faith, any theology that despises the noble, God-given gifts of reason (*Vernunft*) and scholarship is an absurd thing. The Protestant Church was born just as much of free scholarship as it was of living faith. Therefore, we maintain

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<sup>33</sup> Horst Weigelt, *Erweckungsbewegung und konfessionelles Luthertum im 19. Jahrhundert: Untersucht and Karl von Raumer* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1968), pp. 87-91; Achim Behrens and Werner Klän, eds., *Wilhelm Löhe und Ludwig Harms: Vergleichende Studien zum lutherisch-konfessionellen Aufbruch im 19. Jahrhundert* (Oberursel: Oberurseler Hefte, 2010).

<sup>34</sup> Pelt, *Theologische Encyclopädie*, pp. 32-33.

that the true flourishing of theology depends upon the mutual interpenetration of faith and scholarship, as well as it does on their amity. However, the scholarly element of theology is only able to unite with the religious element of theology when the former is free from all external fetters and only has to obey the free laws of truth. The heights and depths that come from following such serious inquiries wherever they may lead, even if the path should lead for a while into doubt, are to be much less feared than either of the dreadful alternatives: bondage to dead letters and false authorities, or the anarchy and lawlessness of enthusiastic (*schwärmerischen*) beliefs. Through this open confession, the editors believe that they are able to justify their goals to all of those who with them agree that at no time in history, and least of all in our own, could there ever be too many mediations (*Vermittelungen*) in theology.<sup>35</sup>

What Ullmann and Umbreit announced as the theological programme and methodology for *Vermittlungstheologie* reflected Schleiermacher's own purpose for writing theology. Indeed, Schleiermacher supported their journal, contributing two articles on New Testament textual criticism and Pauline Christology.<sup>36</sup> Schleiermacher also used the journal as a platform to publish two very long open letters, totalling over eighty pages, in which he discussed the revisions that he had made to the second edition of *The Christian Faith*.<sup>37</sup> In 1841, Ullmann reiterated his pleas for theologians to practice *Vermittlungstheologie*. He warned that the 'perspective of the Reformation' was being forsaken by those who 'are falling into the arms of pantheistic idealism as they let go of their belief in everything that is historic, that is positive, concrete and vital in Christianity', just as much as it was disappearing among those who 'firmly hold on to positive Christianity, but only recognise as such what is expressed in certain fixed formulations. These are wholly closed off towards the advancement of the living spirit of the Reformation.'<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Republished in Alf Christophersen, *Friedrich Lücke (1791-1855), Neutestamentliche Hermeneutik und Exegese im Zusammenhang mit seinem Leben und Werk*, II (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), pp. 421-22.

<sup>36</sup> Friedrich Schleiermacher, 'Ueber Kolossbrief 1:15-20', *ThSK*, 5 (1832), pp. 497-537; Friedrich Schleiermacher, 'Ueber die Zeugnisse des Papias von unsern beiden ersten Evangelien', *ThSK*, 5 (1832), pp. 735-68.

<sup>37</sup> Friedrich Schleiermacher, 'Dr Schleiermacher über seine Glaubenslehre, an Dr Lücke: Erstes Sendschreiben', *ThSK*, 2 (1829), pp. 255-84; Friedrich Schleiermacher, 'Dr Schleiermacher über seine Glaubenslehre, an Dr Lücke: Zweites Sendschreiben', *ThSK*, 2 (1829), pp. 481-532.

<sup>38</sup> Karl Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation, vornehmlich in Deutschland und den Niederlanden*, I (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1841), p. xxix.



Besides the Heidelberg *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, another major organ of the *Vermittlungstheologie* was the *Litterarischer Anzeiger für christliche Theologie und Wissenschaft überhaupt* (1830-49), a monthly journal edited by the University of Halle professor August Tholuck.<sup>39</sup> In an editorial in the first volume of the journal, Tholuck explained that his aim was ‘to review, from the standpoint of a firm biblical faith (*festen biblischen Glaubens*)’, as wide a range of contemporary theological literature as possible, including not only works written by Protestants and Catholics in Germany, but also in England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, France, Italy, and America.<sup>40</sup>

Tholuck acknowledged that the task of practicing *Vermittlungstheologie*, of combining the historic creeds and confessions of the Church with the insights of recent biblical and theological scholarship was difficult, and potentially unpopular. ‘Many readers will wish for there to be stronger rebukes of the unbelief in the works that are discussed in these pages. However, the editor has decided that while he will never capitulate on the truths of the Gospel, it is also his duty to expressly recognise whatever is good, wherever he may find it... Thus, not only Christian works, but also important works that are anti-Christian as well as those that promote scepticism will also be examined here.’<sup>41</sup> Tholuck announced that he hoped his journal would be read primarily not by university scholars, but instead by church ministers, school teachers, and university students. He believed that if the kind of Protestantism being fostered by the Awakening movement was to be sustained, it was essential to disseminate it to the widest possible audience. ‘As the battle against rationalism is carried into areas of daily life with more and more zeal, a corresponding zeal for Christian truth becomes all the more necessary, so that the fruits of the renewed belief in Christianity in our time might become lasting, and not merely an ephemeral phenomenon.’<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Pelt, *Theologische Encyclopädie*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>40</sup> August Tholuck, ‘Ein Wort der Redaction in Bezug auf die Fortsetzung dieser Zeitschrift’, *LATHW*, 1 (1830), pp. 281-83.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 283.

In 1853, one author mused how ‘during the past sixty years, there has hardly been any country in Europe that has not been touched by awakenings of religion’.<sup>43</sup> He noted the appearance of several ‘new believing theologies, which mediate between the human and divine sides of Christianity. What Schleiermacher achieved in Germany, Alexandre Vinet has done for French Protestants, and Thomas Arnold’s writings might yet do the same in the Church of England.’<sup>44</sup> It is important to mark how German Protestants interpreted their theological developments as parallel to ones in other historic European Protestant Churches. Similarly one of Tholuck’s Scottish students, the Free Church of Scotland minister James Stalker, in an essay published in 1880, emphasised his teacher’s European significance. ‘What Wesley did for the Church of England, and Chalmers did for the Church of Scotland, and Vinet for the Church of Switzerland, Tholuck may be said to have done for the Church of Germany: he fought down and annihilated the old Rationalism, which corresponded to our Moderatism and during the first decades of this century made evangelical religion a respected and waxing power in the land.’<sup>45</sup>

#### 4.4 ‘Right Schleiermacherians’

The final term to analyse from this period is: ‘Right Schleiermacherian.’ Ullmann, Umbreit, Tholuck, and other young theologians were described as such because they were perceived to have taken Schleiermacher’s theology in a conservative direction. As another of this group, the University of Dorpat professor of theology Johann Kurtz, observed in 1857, ‘Schleiermacher is the founder of modern Protestant theology, he is the Origen of the nineteenth century’, and ‘like Hegel’s students, his students have too separated into Right and Left factions’.<sup>46</sup> While it was high praise to

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<sup>43</sup> J. Schmid, ‘Kirchliche Zustände im Waadtlande mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Alexandre Vinet’, *PMiZG*, 1 (1853), pp. 276-317 (pp. 276-77).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>45</sup> James Stalker, *Imago Christi: The example of Jesus Christ* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1895), p. 277.

<sup>46</sup> Johann Kurtz, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende* (Mitau: August Neumann, 1857), pp. 648-49.

liken Schleiermacher to Origen, it was also the case that Origen was never canonised because of reservations regarding the orthodoxy of certain of his teachings.

The internecine divisions among Schleiermacher's intellectual progeny were rather acrimonious. Kurtz expanded upon these divisions in a later edition of his church history textbook: 'the Schleiermacherian Right strives for a mediation (*Vermittelung*) between the old faith (*alten Glauben*) and the free spirit of modern inquiry (*modernen Freisinnigkeit*), while the Left is totally committed to its so-called 'free scholarship' (*freie Wissenschaft*).'<sup>47</sup> In 1869 the prominent 'Left Schleiermacherian' and University of Halle professor of theology Karl Schwarz concurred with this analysis when he retorted that 'it is only those who are on the Left, who are Schleiermacher's faithful and true students. These keep themselves free from the dogmatic stench (*dogmatischen Miasmen*) of our age and simultaneously cultivate the critical, as well as the religious-mystical elements of the character of our great teacher.'<sup>48</sup> Kurtz noted in 1872 how the Right and Left Schleiermacherians tended to join different extra-ecclesiastical religious societies. The former generally supported the Evangelical Parliament (*Evangelischer Kirchentag*, founded 1848) and, to a lesser extent, the German branch of the British Evangelical Alliance (1851), while the latter supported the Protestant Association (*Protestantenverein*, 1865).<sup>49</sup>

Over a century later, the historical theologian Brian Gerrish interpreted Schleiermacher just as the Left Schleiermacherians had. He characterised him as a 'liberal evangelical', in a series of lectures in 1979.<sup>50</sup> For Gerrish, the essence of Schleiermacher's liberalism was that he had been a 'champion of experiential religion against the dead weight of traditional forms', one whose original inquiries and meditations on the Gospel were not 'tied to the old expressions of it'.<sup>51</sup> Gerrish

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<sup>47</sup> Johann Kurtz, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende*, II (Mitau: August Neumann, 1874), p. 301.

<sup>48</sup> Karl Schwarz, *Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1869), p. 485.

<sup>49</sup> Johann Kurtz, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende*, II (Leipzig: August Neumann's Verlag, 1874), p. 282.

<sup>50</sup> Brian Gerrish, *A Prince of the Church: Schleiermacher and the Beginnings of Modern Theology* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1984), pp. 18-20.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

suggested that Martin Luther, the German Pietists, and the English Methodists had also all been ‘liberal evangelicals’ because they had ‘turned their critical intellects upon the content of their religious sensibility’ and articulated their own personal experience of the Gospel.<sup>52</sup>

Gerrish’s explanation of Schleiermacher as a ‘liberal’ is helpful in explaining why mediating theologians were also called ‘right-wing Schleiermacherians’. They were ‘Schleiermacherian’ in the sense of they embraced his theological methodology and began to construct their theological systems from the starting point of their religious feelings. However, they were ‘conservative’ because, unlike the Left Schleiermacherians, they found many of the older Protestant theological interpretations of Christian religious experiences acceptable for understanding their own.

For example, at the founding meeting of the *Evangelischer Kirchentag* in September 1848 in Wittenberg, over 500 members of Lutheran, Reformed, Union, and Moravian Churches from across Germany confessed their common faith in a number of doctrines. The doctrines included the divine inspiration of Scripture, the trinity and unity of God, the sinfulness of mankind, the righteous wrath of God towards sinners, God’s desire that all sinners repent, the incarnation of God the Son, the efficaciousness of Jesus’ death as a sacrificial atonement for sin, justification by faith alone, the enduring work of the Holy Spirit in the world in creating and sustaining the Church, the coming Final Judgment, and the immediate need for Christians to repent and recommit themselves to the work of spreading the Gospel.<sup>53</sup> Along with the modern confessional theologian Ernst Hengstenberg, the following Right Schleiermacherians were members of the executive committee of the *Kirchentag*: Karl Immanuel Nitzsch (professor of theology at the University of Bonn; assistant editor of the *Studien und Kritiken*), Julius Müller (Halle), Karl Heinrich Sack (Bonn), Isaak Dörner (Berlin), and Friedrich Ehrenfeuchter (Göttingen).<sup>54</sup> Thus, although they took a different methodological route

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>53</sup> Christian Friedrich Kling, ed. *Die Verhandlungen der Wittenberger Versammlung für Gründung eines deutschen evangelischen Kirchenbundes im September 1848* (Berlin: Wilhelm Herz, 1848), p. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Werner Kreft, *Die Kirchentage von 1848-1872* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1994), pp. xxxviii-xlii.

through *Vermittlungstheologie*, the theologies of the ‘Right Schleiermacherians’ were substantially congruous with those of the ‘modern confessional theologians’.

Several professors and church officials attempted to explain these theological developments to the American, British, Dutch, Eastern European, French, Scandinavian and Swiss Protestants who attended the international conferences organised by the British Evangelical Alliance in conjunction with the London and Paris world fairs of 1851 and 1855. At these meetings they explained how what they referred to in English as the ‘new and deep-believing theology’ had become highly significant within contemporary German Protestantism.<sup>55</sup> Isaak Dorner of the University of Göttingen attributed what he regarded as wholesome changes in other areas of Protestant religious life to the influence of developments in academic theology.

The modern German theology follows in the footsteps of the great Reformers, and their work exhibits itself with continual freshness. It renders to Christianity the glory which is its due, not suffering anything to be substituted for Christ, and never deserting Him, the living Saviour, for a human head, for the Church, or for tradition. The new life which appears in the German Churches, the home and foreign missions, the schools, the regeneration of worship, proves to us that God has been pleased to bless their doctrines. The work is only just begun, and there remains much to do, much to combat, and much to destroy among the German people. Many storms yet threaten the blessed seed; but this theology has only to go forward, for it is a faithful helper to the practical labours of the Church. It produces good to the Church, and the latter, in return renders it the same.<sup>56</sup>

Similarly, August Tholuck emphasised how much the religious atmosphere of the theological faculties had changed since the end of the Napoleonic Wars. ‘If we look back to the time a little before the liberation of Germany from the French yoke, with the exception of Württemberg, we may say that there were, perhaps, amongst all the rest of the teachers of divinity, not more than three or four that may be called evangelical. But how happy the change that has taken place since that time!’<sup>57</sup> According to Tholuck these changes did not occur purely on their own, but were partially the results of policies that

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<sup>55</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacker, ‘On the Religious State of Germany and its Infidelity’, p. 421.

<sup>56</sup> Isaak Dorner, ‘On the Universities of Germany’, p. 277.

<sup>57</sup> August Tholuck, ‘Supplemental Remarks on the State of the Universities’, in *Religious Condition of Christendom*, ed. Edward Steane (London: James Nisbet, 1852), pp. 431-35 (pp. 431-32).

King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia had adopted in order to shape the theological faculties of his universities in a particular direction after his own experience of religious awakening.

It was only after those days of trouble that a glorious victory was given to the Prussian and Russian armies, and then it was believed that the king's heart was changed, that memorable day when, on the battlefield of Leipzig [October 1813], after they had gained the victory, two emperors and one king [Alexander I, Franz II, Friedrich Wilhelm III] were seen kneeling down, and offering up praise to the Almighty. That day was the dawn of the new light of true religion which was breaking forth upon our country. For after that happy change in the heart of our monarch was effected, it became one of his principal cares to see his universities [Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Greifswald, Halle, and Königsberg] provided with professors of the Truth; and after the lapse of ten years [1815-25] this was to a great extent effected.<sup>58</sup>

Tholuck explained how such practices went on for over thirty years. 'During the latter part of our late king's reign [Friedrich Wilhelm III, reigned 1797-1840], and afterwards, under the government of our present king [Friedrich Wilhelm IV, reigned 1840-1861], vacant professorships were taken up by faithful men. I am happy to say, that perhaps without exception, my colleagues are men that work with myself in the same spirit and in the same faith.'<sup>59</sup>

To consider one specific example of this practice, on 26 September 1833 Friedrich Wilhelm III appointed the University of Leipzig professor of theology August Hahn to the University of Breslau and to the Consistory of the Prussian Church with the mandate to oppose rationalism in both the academy and the church.<sup>60</sup> Hahn had come to the king's attention through his anti-rationalist polemics, and Friedrich Wilhelm III had read with great approval two of Hahn's works: *An address to the Protestant Church in Saxony and Prussia* (1827) and *Concerning the condition of Christianity in our time and the relationship of Christian theology to scholarship in general* (1832).<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., pp. 432-33.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 433.

<sup>60</sup> Karl Zimmermann, 'August Hahn', *AKZ*, 42 (1863), pp. 593-613 (p. 593).

<sup>61</sup> August Hahn, *An die Evangelische Kirche zunächst in Sachsen und Preußen: Eine offene Erklärung* (Leipzig: Friedrich Vögel, 1827); August Hahn, *Ueber die Lage des Christenthums in unserer Zeit und das Verhältniß chr. Theologie zur Wissenschaft überhaupt* (Leipzig: August Liebeskind, 1832).

Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacker and Sixt Karl Kapff strongly concurred with Tholuck's and Dorner's interpretation of the relationship between the new theology and church life, and attributed these positive developments to the legacy of Schleiermacher. Krummacker and Kapff were ministers of congregations in Berlin and Stuttgart, senior officials of the state churches of Prussia and Württemberg, and also members of the Central Committee of the *Kirchentag*. In their speeches to the Evangelical Alliance, Krummacker in 1851 and Kapff in 1855, each claimed that the revival of Protestantism in Germany since the end of the Napoleonic Wars had been a work of God. They saw the recent history of German Protestantism reflected in the mirror that was provided by the texts of Ezekiel 16 and Ezekiel 37. Just as the ancient Hebrew prophet had accused the people of Judah of being unfaithful to the Lord their God by whoring after false gods, so too did Krummacker and Kapff charge that German Protestants had abandoned the Lord during the Enlightenment. As a result Germany had been punished with over two decades of wars and foreign occupation, just as the ancient Judeans had been carried into exile in Babylon for their failure to keep the covenant. For Krummacker and Kapff, the German Awakening was typologically analogous to the spiritual renewal that Ezekiel prophesied that God would bring when the people of Judah repented of their sins.<sup>62</sup>

Each of these church leaders lionised Schleiermacher as a unique instrument that God had used to bring German Protestants back from their spiritual exile. To be sure, they still had certain concerns about Schleiermacher – 'his theology was far from being identical with that of the Bible and Church'; 'his many-sided mind has led the Rationalists to call him a Mystic, and the Mystics to call him a Rationalist and a Pantheist'.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, they both recognised him as the initiator of a theological reformation that had helped to bring about the larger Awakening. According to Krummacker, 'Schleiermacher's merits in relation to the spread of the Redeemer's kingdom are beyond all question. First, he reconciled science with religion, verifying the axiom that 'true science cannot be irreligious'. Secondly, he prepared the throne again

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<sup>62</sup> Krummacker, 'On the Religious State of Germany and its Infidelity', p. 415; Kapff, 'The Religious Condition of Protestant Germany', p. 199.

<sup>63</sup> Krummacker, 'On the Religious State of Germany and its Infidelity', p. 420, Kapff, 'The Religious Condition of Protestant Germany', p. 199.

for Christ, as the moral regenerator of the world in the hearts of the people. Thirdly, he gave the first impetus to a new and deep-believing theology, as his scholars Lücke, Nitzsch, Twesten, Sack, Tholuck, Neander, Müller, and others prove.’<sup>64</sup> Likewise, Kapff noted how many of Schleiermacher’s ‘pupils embraced the system of Christian truth still more decisively than he had, and there arose a circle of biblical divines: Neander, Tholuck, Nitzsch, Hengstenberg, Lücke, Müller, Ullmann, Twesten, Sack, and many others, who have exercised the happiest influence on theological literature, and especially on the young students’.<sup>65</sup>

#### 4.5 ‘Awakened Theology’

The terminology that was used to characterise these early nineteenth-century theologians underwent another change in the early twentieth century. An article on ‘*Erweckungstheologie* (awakened theology)’ was published in the 1928 edition of the indispensable religious encyclopaedia *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.<sup>66</sup> The article emphasised how ‘the Awakening contributed to the renewal of theology by providing a new impetus for theological study. The Awakening did not found a new theological system as much as it influenced how the confessional theologians and the mediating theologians built their own systems.’<sup>67</sup> This term de-emphasised the differences that existed between confessional and mediating theologians as to highlight their basic agreement that during the second half of the eighteenth-century German Protestant biblical and theological studies had become badly deformed and now required reformatory correction. As the University of Basel professor of ecclesiastical history Max Geiger remarked in his 1963 study:

The internal unity of the *Erweckungsbewegung* consisted in what it was opposed against... What connected all of the well-known and the less well-known proponents of the *Erweckungsbewegung* and bound them together in spite of all their self-evident differences was their common conviction that deism and rationalism, determinism and

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<sup>64</sup> Krummacher, ‘On the Religious State of Germany and its Infidelity’, p. 421.

<sup>65</sup> Kapff, ‘The Religious Condition of Protestant Germany’, p. 199.

<sup>66</sup> F. Traub, ‘*Erweckungstheologie*’, *RGG*, II (1928), p. 304.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.



pantheism, neology and secularism were then bringing about the ruination of the Church and destroying the truth of the gospel from the ground on up. In ever new tones, variations, and accents this theme was taken up by the *Erweckungstheologen*.<sup>68</sup>

Thus, under this umbrella term both the theologies of the modern confessional theologians and the right-wing Schleiermacherians were conceived of as types of ‘awakened theology.’

Alternatively, more recent scholars have defined ‘*Erweckungstheologie*’, much more narrowly, using it to refer only to August Tholuck and August Neander, who from 1813 to 1850 was the professor of church history at the University of Berlin. They do this in order to stress particular distinctions between their writings and those of mediating theologians and the confessional theologians.<sup>69</sup> The historical theologian Martin Jung has even suggested that, apart from the notable exceptions of Tholuck and Neander, *Erweckungstheologie* was merely a popular theology and distinct from the systematised theologies of the confessional theologians and right-wing Schleiermacherians. In Jung’s view, *Erweckungstheologie* was communicated virtually exclusively through ‘sermons and devotional writings that reflected on the religious experiences of sin and grace, guilt and redemption, and justification and redemption’. Jung does not for this reason dismiss *Erweckungstheologie* as being simplistic. Instead he suggests that ‘in this manner, *Erweckungstheologie* was more like the kind of theology that had been produced by Bernard of Clairvaux and the monks of medieval

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<sup>68</sup> Max Geiger, *Aufklärung und Erweckung: Beiträge zur Erforschung Johann Heinrich Jung-Stillings und die Erweckungstheologie* (Zurich: EVZ Verlag, 1963), p. 438.

<sup>69</sup> Friedrich Kantzenbach, *Theismus und biblische Überlieferung: Beobachtungen zur Theologie der Erweckung* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlage, 1965), pp. 26-52; Peter Meinhold, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Historiographie*, II (Munich: Karl Alber, 1967), pp. 151-61; Horst Stephan and Martin Schmidt, *Geschichte der evangelischen Theologie in Deutschland seit dem Idealismus* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1973), pp. 132-42; Felix Flückiger and Wilhelm Anz, *Theologie und Philosophie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975), p. 68, p. 95; Gunther Wenz, ‘Erweckte Theologie: Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck (1799-1877)’, in *Profile des neuzeitlichen Protestantismus*, I, ed. by Friedrich Wilhelm Graf (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1990), pp. 251-64; Jan Rohls, *Protestantische Theologie der Neuzeit*, I (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), pp. 417-21; Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), pp. 212-13.

European monasteries than it was like any of the systems of theology that ever came out of the universities'.<sup>70</sup>

The prominent twentieth-century theologians, Karl Barth and Paul Tillich, came to much harsher judgments of the theologies of the Awakening. In his reflections on the Awakening movement, Barth concluded that it exercised a more significant influence on Protestantism through how it shaped preaching, foreign missionary work, domestic evangelism, and social reform initiatives than through anything it contributed to theological scholarship.<sup>71</sup> Barth faulted '*Erweckungstheologie*' as a collection of antiquarian attempts at constructing a 'theology of repristination', a theology, which, although it was 'deeply committed to the teachings of the Apostle Paul, Augustine, and Luther', was nevertheless 'unfruitful' and 'second-best compared to the theologies of Schleiermacher and F.C. Baur'.<sup>72</sup> '*Erweckungstheologie*' was deficient, in Barth's estimation, because of how, unlike Schleiermacher's and Baur's theologies, it was 'not able to speak about the doctrines of justification, faith, and the Word of God in ways that made these doctrines meaningful to contemporary audiences. This has been the problem which has haunted all conservative theology from the time of the Awakening to our present-day'.<sup>73</sup>

Tillich approached the Awakening from a unique perspective in the lectures on the history of nineteenth and twentieth-century Protestant theology that he delivered at the University of Chicago in 1962-63.<sup>74</sup> While an undergraduate student at the University of Berlin in 1904, he had become a member of the Wingolf Christian fraternity (*Studentenverbindung*), chapters of which had been established at eleven German and Swiss universities between 1839 and 1854 by students influenced by the

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<sup>70</sup> Martin Jung, *Der Protestantismus in Deutschland von 1815 bis 1870* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), pp. 43-44.

<sup>71</sup> Karl Barth, *Die Protestantische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert: Ihre Vorgeschichte und Ihre Geschichte* (Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1947), pp. 459-67.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 460.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 466-68.

<sup>74</sup> Paul Tillich, *Perspectives on Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Protestant Theology*, ed. by Carl E. Braaten (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1967), pp. 153-58.

Awakening and sympathetic professors, such as Tholuck and Neander.<sup>75</sup> In the words of its Berlin chapter, the founding purpose of the Wingolf student association was ‘to advance into every sphere of society, above all in the universities, the purifying power of the authentic and true Christianity that has returned to the Churches through the promotion of the Christian life among university students’.<sup>76</sup> In his Chicago lectures, the seventy-six year old Tillich recalled his late teenage years in Berlin and how the ethos of the Awakening, ‘was still visible’ then among the *Wingolfiten* at the Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität in the Prussian capital. He related how he and his fellow students ‘took the Christian principles of the revivalist movement with utter seriousness’.<sup>77</sup> Tillich moved to Halle in 1905 to complete his *Grundstudium* under Martin Kähler, who was also a member of his fraternity. Kähler’s life and scholarship, Tillich remarked, bore the lasting impression of the conversion experience that he had had as he studied under a number of awakened theologians in the 1850s, the foremost of which was Tholuck.<sup>78</sup>

However, despite these associations, Tillich viewed the *Erweckungsbewegung* primarily as a popular movement within German religious life, one which did inspire any theological school or movement. Tillich explained the Awakening as the German manifestation of a larger international ‘second wave of pietism that swept through America, England, France, Germany, and Switzerland like a storm around 1830’. He suggested that what spiritually united ‘peasants, bourgeois people, and aristocrats’, and instigated their corporate re-examination of ‘the problem of human existence and the meaning of the Christian message’, was their common reaction against the spiritual vacuity of the Enlightenment.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Renate Albrecht and Werner Schüßler, *Paul Tillich: Sein Leben* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 1993), p. 22; Wingolf Studentenverbindung, *Aus dem Wingolf* (Marburg: C.L. Pfeil, 1860). Chapters were established at the Universities of Berlin, Bonn, Erlangen, Giessen, Halle, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Marburg, Rostock, Basel, and Göttingen. The society derived its name from the ‘Temple of Friendship’ mentioned in Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock’s 1767 poem entitled *Wingolf*. ‘Geschichte des Wingolfs’, Wingolf Studentenverbindung, accessed 11 September 2014, [https://www.wingolf.org/wingolf/geschichte\\_1870.html](https://www.wingolf.org/wingolf/geschichte_1870.html).

<sup>76</sup> Wingolf Studentenverbindung, *Aus dem Wingolf*, p. 3.

<sup>77</sup> Tillich, *Perspectives*, p. 154

<sup>78</sup> Tillich, *Perspectives*, pp. 153-54, On Kähler’s formative theological influences see Karl Knauß, ‘Martin Kähler’, *BBKL*, III (1990), 925-26.

<sup>79</sup> Tillich, *Perspectives*, p. 153.

[The Awakening] was rooted in what I would call the law of nature...there can be no vacuum, no void. Where there is an empty space, it will be filled. The Enlightenment with its consequences, especially its materialistic trends in France and later in Germany, created a feeling of a vacuum in the spiritual life. The preaching of the Enlightenment was a kind of lecturing on all possible subjects, agricultural, technical, political or psychological, but the dimension of the ultimate was lacking. So into this empty space an intense pietistic movement stressing conversion entered and filled it with a warm spirit of vital piety.<sup>80</sup>

Tillich saw the foremost expression of the religious ingenuity of the Awakening in the new foreign and domestic missionary organisations that were founded ‘to save individual souls from eternal damnation’ in faraway places as well as at home in Germany, an aim which he considered to reflect a rather limited vision of the message of Christianity.<sup>81</sup>

As had Barth, Tillich perceived little to commend about the Awakening in terms of its constructive theological output. Tillich did not consider *Vermittlungstheologie* as a product of the Awakening. Modern confessional theology struck him as an entirely reactionary movement that was intellectually uncreative in its rehashing of sixteenth and seventeenth century Protestant orthodoxy. In contrast to how ‘the pupils of Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Schelling had produced a theology of mediation, which combined the rediscovered biblical reality with the concerns of the modern mind’, he regarded the Awakening as having merely inspired ‘a revival of traditional theology, a theology of restoration, a theology of reprimatation, a conservative theology over against a liberal theology’.<sup>82</sup> Tillich considered this to be a futile enterprise. ‘It could not last because history does not run backward, but forward.’<sup>83</sup>

Finally, given the severity of Barth’s and Tillich’s criticisms of *Erweckungstheologie* as a rearguard defence of retrograde beliefs, it is striking to note Wolfhart Pannenberg’s markedly different interpretation of *Erweckungstheologie*. In 1997, the prolific University of Munich professor of theology portrayed awakened theology as a collection of modern, creative attempts to ‘re-found traditional Christianity’

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 154-55.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 157.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 158.

along the lines of Schleiermacher's 'later, pietistic theology'.<sup>84</sup> Pannenberg observed how what most differentiated post-Enlightenment German Protestant theology from its pre-Enlightenment antecedents was that modern theologians were unable to either assume or appeal to the divine revelatory authority of the Scriptures in the ways that their forbearers had. This attribute of the Bible was then questioned as it had never been before in the history of German Protestantism.<sup>85</sup> Confronted with this epistemological problem, Pannenberg noted that 'awakened theologians' attempted to solve it by shifting the source of the evidence for 'the truth of revelation', from its putatively objective location in the biblical texts themselves to the subjective experience of faith that individuals had in response to hearing or reading the biblical message.

The subjective certainty of person religious experience now became the foundation of the certainty of that which was believed (*fides quod*), the foundation of awareness of the truth of revelation. And the more that confidence in the universally objective reliability of the biblical accounts was shattered through historical criticism, the more emphatically the modern pietistic theology that had resulted from the Awakening had to retreat to, and fixate on, personal religious experience as the guarantor of the trustworthiness of revelation.<sup>86</sup>

In this manner, according to Pannenberg, Schleiermacher served as 'a guide to awakened theologians as they went about opposing rationalism'. To this Pannenberg hastened to add that 'they yet held Schleiermacher at arm's length because his philosophy seemed to them to be too greatly influenced by Spinoza and by what they denounced as pantheistic German Idealism'.<sup>87</sup> Thus to summarise Pannenberg's analysis of 'awakened theology' through two terms that August Twisten introduced in 1826: it was an attempt to reground the formal principle of Protestantism (*sola scriptura*) in the material principle of Protestantism (*sola fidei*) after the historic obverse – i.e. the

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<sup>84</sup> Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Problemgeschichte der neueren evangelischen Theologie in Deutschland von Schleiermacher bis zu Barth und Tillich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1997), pp. 77-80.

<sup>85</sup> Pannenberg, *Problemgeschichte der neueren evangelischen Theologie*, p. 80; Theodore Tappert, 'Orthodoxy, Pietism, and Rationalism, 1580-1830' in *Christian Social Responsibility*, II, ed. by Harold C. Letts (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957), pp. 36-88.

<sup>86</sup> Pannenberg, *Problemgeschichte der neueren evangelischen Theologie*, p. 86.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

derivation of the material principle from the formal principle – no longer seemed tenable.<sup>88</sup>

In the final section of this chapter, we will consider a number of individuals who became university theologians in the late-1810s and 1820s apart from the conceptual labels that were later applied to them. We will examine the different ways in which these theologians described their personal faith and discussed their understanding of the contemporary tasks of theology. Hereby, we will be able to ascertain how the motivations and goals that these scholars had for their scholarship were informed by their personal experiences of religious awakening and their wishes to contribute to the wider Awakening movement.

As we noted at the beginning of the chapter, the earliest commentators on these new theologians identified 71 scholars as representatives of new types of theology that were influenced by the Awakening. Obviously, this high number precludes the possibility of commenting on each of them here. Rather, we shall examine the heterogeneous origins of the varieties of ‘awakened’ theology through concentrating upon several different networks of scholars that came into being through the bonds between students and their teachers. Let us begin our analysis of such relationships with the university professor who has been often described as the ‘last Pietist in Halle’.<sup>89</sup>

#### **4.6 ‘Erweckungstheologen’ in local contexts**

On 17 September 1753 Georg Christian Knapp was born into the educational and evangelistic institutions that had been founded in Halle by August Hermann Francke. He arrived there as the son of Johann Georg Knapp, a professor of theology at the university and Gotthilf Francke’s successor as the director of the renowned orphanage.<sup>90</sup> Following the completion of his own studies there and at Göttingen, Knapp began to lecture in

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<sup>88</sup> Albrecht Ritschl, ‘Über die beiden Principien des Protestantismus: Antwort auf eine 25 Jahre alte Frage’, in *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1893), pp. 234–47 (p. 244).

<sup>89</sup> August Tholuck, ‘Georg Christian Knapp’, *RE*, VIII (1881), 84–86; Malte van Spankeren, ‘Halles letzter Pietist?! Georg Christian Knapp (1753–1825) und das Doppeldirektorat der Franckeschen Stiftungen’, *PuN*, 38 (2012), pp. 135–57 (p. 135).

<sup>90</sup> Heinrich Doering, *Die gelehrten Theologen Deutschlands im achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, II (Neustadt: Johann Karl Gottfried Wagner, 1832), pp. 134–37.

theology at Halle in 1775, a post which he occupied for the next fifty years. During this time he authored a dozen exegetical and philological studies of the Old and New Testaments and many journal articles.<sup>91</sup> In 1817 King Friedrich Wilhelm III bestowed a knighthood upon him in recognition of his administrative work as the director of all the various institutions at Halle (i.e. the orphanage, Latin school, Bible-printing house, and the mission to India). Knapp also supported the new voluntary religious societies of the Awakening movement. From 1816, he served as the first president of the Halle Bible and missionary societies. Several thousand copies of a booklet that he authored, *A Consideration of the question: What must I do so that I may be saved? And the answer: Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, so that you and your household will be saved*, were printed by the Prussian and Barmen Religious Tract Societies.<sup>92</sup> The university celebrated the semicentennial of his initial academic appointment with great fanfare several months before his death on 14 October 1825.<sup>93</sup>

The sources on Knapp's early religious views differ over the degree to which he adhered to the enlightened Protestantism of his professor and colleague Johann Semler during the first twenty-years of his tenure at Halle. In 1786, the rationalist theologian Karl Friedrich Bahrdt – who was dismissed in disgrace from his professorship at the University of Leipzig after he admitted to having had sexual intercourse with two girls aged fourteen and seventeen – spoke highly of Knapp in an article in his periodical, *Kirchen- und Ketzer Almanach*.<sup>94</sup> 'Up until now, we have always thought of Knapp as a traditional theologian of the cross [i.e. Martin Luther's concept of *theologia crucis*]. However, we now realise that he has broken away to become an independent theologian (*unter dem Freycorps dient*) and seeks to remove from himself every theological prejudice. That is to say, everything that is in the Bible that cannot be comprehended by

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., pp. 141–42.

<sup>92</sup> Johann Gottfried Scheibel, *Gedächtnis-Rede Auf Georg Christian Knapp* (Breslau: Max Josef, 1825), p. 7, p. 22.

<sup>93</sup> August Niemeyer, *Epicedien: Dem Andenken des weil Hochwürdigen Herrn Georg Christian Knapp* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1825), p. 68.

<sup>94</sup> Dieter Pilling, "Daß ich in Leipzig nie zu der Aufklärung gekommen wäre:" Carl Friedrich Bahrds Jahre in Leipzig und Erfahrt', in *Carl Friedrich Bahrdt*, ed. by Gerhard Sauder and Christoph Weiß (St. Ingbert: Werner J. Röhrig, 1992), p. 116. Karl Bahrdt, 'Georg Christian Knapp', *KKA*, 6 (1786), p. 68.

reason, he either coolly dismisses or twists and turns (*dreht und wendet*) until it is brought in line with reason.<sup>95</sup>

Similarly, one of Knapp's students, Johann Gottfried Scheibel, the conservative Lutheran professor of theology at the University of Breslau whom we discussed at the beginning of the chapter, mentioned in his eulogy how Knapp had had an experience of religious awakening in the year 1794, while he was preparing materials for the centenary celebrations of the opening of the University of Halle. According to Scheibel, 'At this time Knapp recognised that he was on the wrong path and perceived his own need for a saviour and redeemer. His own inner life, his faith, and his piety then began, just as the New Testament stipulates that they must. He himself recognised this from John chapter three [i.e. Jesus told Nicodemus that he had to be born again in order to enter the Kingdom of God].'<sup>96</sup>

It is true that in this year Knapp republished several essays that Philipp Jakob Spener and August Hermann Francke had written about the need to reform further the Lutheran churches of Germany through improvements in religious education. To these Knapp had prefaced his laments concerning how 'so few people today read Spener and Francke and consequently they are badly misunderstood.'<sup>97</sup> Also during this time Knapp wrote several letters in which he expressed profound dismay over the state of Christian zeal among the students of Halle. He was distraught by reports that public drunkenness had become a major problem among missionary graduates from Halle who were then serving in southern India.<sup>98</sup> In another compelling letter, Knapp described how he regularly prayed that among the hundreds of divinity students who had passed through Halle God would send to the university 'just one student who would be receptive to the

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<sup>95</sup> Karl Bahrtdt, 'Georg Christian Knapp', *KKA*, 6 (1786), p. 68.

<sup>96</sup> Scheibel, *Gedächtnis-Rede Auf Georg Christian Knapp*, p. 13.

<sup>97</sup> Georg Christian Knapp, 'Spener's und Frankens Klagen über die Mängel der Religionslehrer und Lehrinstitute in der lutherischen Kirche', *FS*, 2 (1794), pp. 33-84 (p. 33).

<sup>98</sup> Tobias Delfs, 'What shall become of the mission when we have such incompetent missionaries here?' *Drunkenness and mission in eighteenth century Danish East India*, *Intoxication Affairs: A History of Alcohol and Drugs in Modern South Asia*, eds. Harald Fischer-Tiné and Jana Tschurenne (New York: Routledge), pp. 65-88.



sweet message of your Gospel'.<sup>99</sup> Following Scheibel's claims about Knapp's awakening, Knapp's son-in-law and his colleague on the Halle theological faculty, Karl Thilo, immediately challenged the veracity of Scheibel's depiction of Knapp's religious life. He insisted that Knapp's beliefs had always been those of Old Halle and that he had never been a rationalist.<sup>100</sup> Whatever the case, it is clear that from the mid-1790s until the end of his life Knapp was a firm critic of the theology of the Protestant religious Enlightenment.

Knapp's mature theological stance is exemplified in the theological reasoning exhibited in a passage from the systematic theology lectures that he delivered at Halle between 1789 and 1810 in which he argued that New Testament accounts of demonic possessions of human beings were accurate descriptions.<sup>101</sup> Knapp argued that because Jesus himself had said that evil spirits opposed him and his followers, those who 'regard Jesus as an infallible (*untrüglich*), divine teacher, in the full and actual meaning of the word, as the New Testament declares him to be, must on this point, just as on all others, accede to his judgment. They must have the courage to confess this, notwithstanding all the difficulties inherent to this issue, all the opposition that they will face from the philosophers and the *Aufklärer*, and all the opprobrium and derision that they will redound upon them from mockers.'<sup>102</sup> Knapp averred that because Jesus had made claims to divine authority, those 'who wish to accept him merely as a human teacher' were in an untenable position.<sup>103</sup> For the sake of their intellectual integrity, they had to acknowledge that insofar as Jesus claimed to be Lord, he was either delusional or deceptive. 'In the end, everything else that one believes depends upon whether or not one is persuaded of Jesus' divine commission and authority.'<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Transcribed in August Tholuck, 'Abriß einer Geschichte der Umwälzung, welche seit 1750 auf dem Gebiete der Theologie in Deutschland statt gefunden', in *Vermischte Schriften größtheils apologetischen Inhalts*, II, ed. by August Tholuck (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1839), pp. 1-147 (p. 119).

<sup>100</sup> Karl Thilo, 'Vorrede' in *Dr. Georg Christian Knapp's Vorlesungen über die christliche Glaubenslehre nach dem Lehrbegriff der evangelischen Kirche*, I, ed. by Karl Thilo (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1827), pp. xx-xxviii.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

<sup>102</sup> Knapp, *Vorlesungen über die christliche Glaubenslehre*, pp. 395-96.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.

While Knapp's lectures were posthumously published in 1827 and went through two German editions, they had a greater reception in the United States. The New England Calvinist Leonhard Woods produced a translation in 1831 while he was a student at Andover Theological Seminary, nearby Boston, Massachusetts.<sup>105</sup> Knapp's lectures then went through twenty American editions in the next forty-one years.<sup>106</sup> The president of Andover College, Edwards Amasa Park, noted in 1880 how Knapp's *Lectures on Christian Theology* had become one of the most widely-used systematic theological textbooks in American seminaries.<sup>107</sup> In Germany, Knapp's legacy was carried on by his students, among whom there were both well-known mediating and confessional theologians.

Friedrich Lücke was born in 1791 in a village outside Magdeburg and matriculated at Halle in 1810. When the university reopened after its forcible closure by Napoleon, Lücke received his doctorate in 1814.<sup>108</sup> Following his *Habilitation* in Berlin in 1816, he lectured at Bonn until 1827 and then Göttingen until his death in 1855. In 1824, Lücke dedicated the second volume of his commentary on the Gospel of John to 'Dr. Knapp, my first teacher and the model, whom I seek to emulate in my own exegesis of the Holy Scriptures'.<sup>109</sup> Like Knapp in Halle, Lücke served as the president of the missionary society in Göttingen and invited the local Bible society to hold their annual meetings jointly with them in the university's lecture theatres.<sup>110</sup> Indeed as one local church historian commented in a 1903, 'it was through Lücke that the warm breath of

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<sup>105</sup> Anonymous, Review of *Knapp's Christian Theology*, by George Christian Knapp, translated by Leonard Woods, *American Monthly Review*, 1 (1832), pp. 212-16.

<sup>106</sup> Georg Christian Knapp, *Lectures on Christian Theology*, trans. by Leonard Woods (New York: N. Tibbals, 1872).

<sup>107</sup> Edwards Amasa Park, *The Life and Character of Leonard Woods* (Andover, MA: Warren F. Draper, 1880), p. 8.

<sup>108</sup> Karl Heinrich Sander, *D. Friedrich Lücke: Lebens- und Zeitbild aus der ersten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts* (Hannover: Carl Manz Verlags-Anstalt, 1891), pp. 20-33.

<sup>109</sup> Friedrich Lücke, *Commentar über die Schriften des Evangelisten Johannes*, II (Bonn: Eduard Weder, 1824), p. iii.

<sup>110</sup> Albrecht Saathoff, *Aus Göttingens Kirchengeschichte* (Göttingen: Verlag des Göttinger Gemeindeblattes, 1929), pp. 216-19.

the new life of faith first came to Göttingen. He did more than anyone else to bring about the revival within the Church of Hannover.’<sup>111</sup>

Lücke repeatedly emphasised throughout his academic career the role that theological scholarship played in ‘awakening the Church’ and spreading the Christian message to non-Christian peoples. For example, in the preface to his lectures on hermeneutics published in 1817, Lücke reflected on how the work of awakened theologians entailed a kind of spiritual warfare.

In our time God has awakened many pious, scholarly men. He has brought them into the light through his divine word, so that they might continue to study the same and guide others into a clear and serene understanding of the Scriptures. Through this bond of unity that we have with each other we rejoice. Yet we also have all too many reasons to mourn over how there is at this present time an opposing horde of conceited theologians, who in both old and new ways, resist the Holy Spirit. They act as if the evil one himself has tempted them to subvert the respect that people have for the word of God and the trust that they have in its authority. Through their exegesis they endeavour to make the meaning of the Scriptures uncertain, empty, and hollow. Let us cover with love and mercy as many persons as there are who stand in the sin and guilt of the spirit of this age.<sup>112</sup>

In his address to the inaugural meeting of the Göttingen Missionary Society, Lücke considered the relationship between the establishment of European universities in the Middle Ages and the beginning of European missions in modern times. ‘The Church is the mother of the universities. It is no mere coincidence that they appeared in the Christian world, for their origin and substance are themselves essentially Christian.’<sup>113</sup> The universities of Germany were now in a position to train missionaries, who would ‘carry the Gospel to the millions and millions who die every year without Christ and his salvation.’<sup>114</sup> In the Hegelian sense of the term, Lücke imagined the Protestant

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<sup>111</sup> Friedrich Uhlhorn, *Gerhard Uhlhorn, Abt zu Loccum: Ein Lebensbild* (Stuttgart: Gundert Verlag, 1903), p. 11.

<sup>112</sup> Friedrich Lücke, *Grundriß der neutestamentlichen Hermeneutik und ihrer Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1817), pp. iv-vi.

<sup>113</sup> Friedrich Lücke, *Ueber die allgemeine Christenpflicht der Theilnahme am Missionswerke und das besondere Verhältniß der Missionsvereine zur Akademischen Wissenschaft und Bildung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1840), pp. 17-18.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

missionary enterprise as a series of ‘acts of world history, which belong, like Christianity itself, to the internal development of universal human culture’.<sup>115</sup>

Another of Knapp’s students became a prominent confessional theologian, one of the leaders of the so-called ‘Erlangen theology’.<sup>116</sup> In 1821, Gottfried Thomasius, then aged 19, wrote to tell his father how ‘Knapp has opened my eyes to biblical exegesis like they have never been before.’<sup>117</sup> After completing his studies at Erlangen, Halle, and Berlin, Thomasius ministered for seventeen years in Nuremberg until 1842, when he was appointed as university preacher and professor of theology at Erlangen. In an 1845 sermon, Thomasius reflected on how during the past three decades there had been a titanic struggle ‘within nearly all of the universities and churches in Germany over whether human reason or the word of God would be the master and judge in matters of faith’.<sup>118</sup> He discussed this more specifically in a work of local church history that he published in 1867, *The Reawakening of evangelical life within the Lutheran Church of Bavaria: A study of southern German ecclesiastical history from 1800 to 1840*.<sup>119</sup>

In this text, Thomasius recounted how a ‘renewal of the Church had prompted a renewal of theology’, which in northern Bavaria had led a group of professors and pastors from Erlangen and Nuremberg to found the above-mentioned journal, *Die Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*.<sup>120</sup> The purpose of this publication was to provide an ‘academic defence of what the Church believes in its confession [i.e. the Augsburg Confession]’, over against an ‘aggressive Catholicism and the kind of Protestantism that had no confession’.<sup>121</sup> Thomasius elaborated how he and other Erlangen university faculty members Adolf von Harleß, Friedrich Julius Stahl, and Johann Höfling were unashamed of being called ‘theologians of reprobation’, because ‘we believe that there is so much we have yet to learn from the theologians of the

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>116</sup> Karlmann Beyschlag, *Die Erlanger Theologie* (Erlangen: Martin-Luther-Verlag, 1993), pp. 93-98.

<sup>117</sup> Adolf von Stählin, ‘Gottfried Thomasius’, *RE*, XV (1885), 623-35.

<sup>118</sup> Gottfried Thomasius, *Rede am Grabe des Herrn Joh. Christ. Gottl. Ludw. Krafft* (Erlangen: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1845), p. 5.

<sup>119</sup> Gottfried Thomasius, *Das Widererwachen des evangelischen Lebens in der lutherischen Kirche Bayerns: Ein Stück süddeutscher Kirchengeschichte, 1800-1840* (Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1867).

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 278.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p. 279.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from Martin Chemnitz [1522-86], from Johann Gerhard [1582-1637], and from many others'.<sup>122</sup> Thomasius lectured regularly at Erlangen until his death in 1875, completing a 2,000-page study on the person and work of Christ and a 1,000-page study on the developmental history of Christian doctrines. Let us turn now to examine another mediating theologian, one who was eulogised in 1868 as the 'Spener of the nineteenth century'.<sup>123</sup>

Born in 1787, Karl Immanuel Nitzsch was the son of a professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg, where he made his doctoral promotion and *Habilitation* in 1809 and 1810.<sup>124</sup> He then became one of the ministers at the Castle Church, on whose doors Luther purportedly had affixed his 95 Theses in 1517. As French forces retreated east after the Battle of Leipzig, the city of Wittenberg endured a bitter siege during the winter of 1813-14. Years later, Nitzsch reminisced about the great difficulties that had been brought on by the shortage of food in the city and the heavy artillery bombardment of civilian areas.<sup>125</sup> In 1859, he described how it was during this time that he had felt himself 'overjoyed in the Lord' unlike he had ever before or since, as he preached, celebrated communion, and provided pastoral care to the soldiers, refugees, and inhabitants who were trapped in the city.<sup>126</sup>

In 1817, Nitzsch became a lecturer in the newly founded royal Prussian seminary in Wittenberg, and in 1822 he became the university preacher and professor of theology in Bonn. Here he remained for twenty-five years until he was called to Berlin in 1847, where he was a professor of theology and rector of the university and the provost of St. Nicholas' Church until his death in 1868. In his sermons that he preached to university divinity students in Bonn and Berlin, Nitzsch repeatedly stressed that it was of paramount importance that they preach 'Christ crucified and risen' to their

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 285.

<sup>123</sup> Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Lebensabriß des entchlafenen Dr. Carl Immanuel Nitzsch* (Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben, 1868), p. 54.

<sup>124</sup> Willibald Beyschlag, *Karl Immanuel Nitzsch, Eine Lichtgestalt der neueren deutsch-evangelischen Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin: Ludwig Rau, 1872), pp. 53-55.

<sup>125</sup> Carl Nitzsch, *Ein Stück Wittenberger Geschichte aus dem Jahre 1813 Mai bis 1814 Januar*, pp. 16-18.

<sup>126</sup> Friedrich Nitzsch, 'Carl Immanuel Nitzsch', *RE*, X (1882), 805-20.

congregations.<sup>127</sup> At the founding meeting of the Evangelical Parliament (*Evangelischer Kirchentag*) in 1848 in Wittenberg, Nitzsch received more votes than any other candidate in the election to the body's executive committee, suggesting that he was the most respected church leader among the five-hundred awakened Protestants who attended this gathering.<sup>128</sup> In his 1992 study, the University of Tübingen professor Joachim Mehlhausen characterised Nitzsch as 'the most influential theologian in the state Church of Prussia between 1830 and 1860'.<sup>129</sup>

The high esteem in which Nitzsch was held originated from his first major academic publication, a systematic theology, which appeared in six editions between 1829 and 1851.<sup>130</sup> In the preface to the first edition, Nitzsch criticised what he perceived as an improper division in theological scholarship between dogma and ethics and stated his plan to remedy this: 'Herein, I shall seek to awaken the integrated study of the entire system of Christian teachings.'<sup>131</sup> Methodologically, he proceeded by organising his explication of Christianity according to the rubric of '*Agathologie*' (the doctrine of the good, i.e. God and creation), '*Ponerologie*' (the doctrine of evil, i.e. sin and death), and '*Soterologie*' (the doctrine of salvation, i.e. 'the foundation of salvation in the person of the saviour', 'the acquisition of salvation', 'the community of salvation', and 'the consummation of salvation').<sup>132</sup> Six years later in 1835, Nitzsch produced a much shorter epitome of Protestant theology in the 100 theses that he wrote as an apologetic response to the Catholic professor of theology at the University of Tübingen Johann Möhler's polemic against the same.<sup>133</sup> Warning that 'rationalism carries many Christians backwards into the spiritual condition that they were in when they were catechumens, if

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<sup>127</sup> Carl Nitzsch, *Predigten aus der Amtsführung in Bonn und Berlin* (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1867), p. 80, p. 128, p. 196, p. 284, p. 302, p. 318, p. 394, p. 461, p. 473, p. 599, p. 802.

<sup>128</sup> Christian Kling, ed. *Die Verhandlungen der Wittenberger Versammlung für Gründung eines deutschen evangelischen Kirchenbundes im September 1848* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1848), p. 89.

<sup>129</sup> Joachim Mehlhausen, 'Rationalismus und Vermittlungstheologie, Unionstheologie und Hegelianismus an den preußischen Fakultäten', in *Die Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche der Union*, I, ed. by J.F. Gerhard Goeters and Rudolf Mau (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1992), pp. 175-209 (p. 192).

<sup>130</sup> Carl Nitzsch, *System der Christlichen Lehre für academische Vorlesungen* (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1829), pp. iii-x.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. iv.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>133</sup> Carl Nitzsch, *Eine protestantische Beantwortung der Symbolik Dr. Möhler's* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1835).

it does not lead them out of the church entirely', Nitzsch declared how, in contrast, 'the Gospel is the confirmation that God gives to the human mind and heart, through which he creates and maintains his relationship with his people'.<sup>134</sup>

On 17 July 1850, Nitzsch delivered a memorial address at the University of Berlin to commemorate the death of August Neander, the university's first professor of church history. Of Neander, Nitzsch declared, 'God created him and consecrated him for the task of rejuvenating the study of historical theology.'<sup>135</sup> Later that year on 4 November 1850, Neander was similarly, posthumously honoured at a memorial service at the University of Basel. Here his former student, the professor of church history Karl Hagenbach praised him not only as a historian, but as a 'Church Father of the nineteenth century'. Hagenbach further lauded Neander as 'one who awakened many to salvation and to practical service in the church...one of the theologians of the modern age, who understood his contemporaries and laboured for their sanctification, revivification, and redemption.'<sup>136</sup> Thirty years later in 1889, the theological faculty at Berlin again celebrated Neander, this time in conjunction with the centennial anniversary of his birth. On this occasion the successor to his chair, Adolf von Harnack, delivered the panegyric to 'Neander, who, next to Schleiermacher, is the most eminent and most beloved member that this faculty has ever had'.<sup>137</sup> Between 1817 and 1856 his former students and colleagues, Friedrich Lücke in Göttingen, August Tholuck in Halle, August Hahn in Leipzig, Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigné in Geneva, August Twisten in Berlin, Julius Müller in Halle, and Carl Ullmann in Heidelberg each dedicated books to him.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 240-41.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>136</sup> Karl Hagenbach, 'Neander's Verdienste um die Kirchengeschichte', *ThSK*, 24 (1851), pp. 543-94 (p. 543).

<sup>137</sup> Adolf Harnack, 'August Neander', in *Reden und Aufsätze*, ed. by Adolf Harnack, (Gieszen: J. Richer'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904), p. 206.

<sup>138</sup> Lücke, *Grundriß der neutestamentlichen Hermeneutik*, p. iii; August Tholuck, *Commentar zu dem Evangelio Johannis* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1827), p. iii; August Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (Leipzig: Friedrich Vögel, 1828), p. v; Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigné, *Discours sur l'étude de l'histoire du christianisme et son utilité pour l'époque actuelle* (Paris: J.J. Risler, 1832), p. iii; August Twisten, *Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche*, II (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1837), p. iii; Julius Müller, *Vom Wesen und Grunde der Sünde* (Breslau: Josef Max and Komp, 1839), p. viii; Carl Ullmann, 'Vorrede', in *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche*, by August Neander (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1856), p. iv.

Neander was born with the name David Mendel and grew up in Hamburg as the son of a prosperous Jewish merchant who had married the daughter of a cousin of the distinguished philosopher Moses Mendelssohn.<sup>139</sup> As a child, he was tutored privately at home before his parents sent him to attend the classical Gymnasium of Hamburg, which Luther's early collaborator Johannes Bugenhagen had founded in 1529. Mendel's conversion to Christianity at age 17 in 1806 was the result of a number of eclectic influences. His family regularly socialised with Hamburg's Romantic Christian poets Friedrich Klopstock and Matthias Claudius.<sup>140</sup> At Gymnasium, Neander excelled at Greek and later recounted to the Hamburg minister Johann Rautenberg (who opened the first English-style Sunday School for poor children in Germany in 1825) how his study of Plato and Plutarch had propelled him towards Christianity, as had his reading Schleiermacher's *Speeches on Religion* and *Monologues*.<sup>141</sup> Shortly after his baptism in February 1806, Neander matriculated at Halle to hear Schleiermacher's lectures in person.<sup>142</sup> He made a favourable impression with Schleiermacher, who later recommended Neander for his professorship at Berlin in 1813.<sup>143</sup> Near the end of his life, Neander expressed his apprehensions regarding a religiously plural civil society, in general, and the place of Jews in a 'Christian state', in particular. In a letter to the Berlin Gymnasium instructor Wilhelm Pape, Neander wrote that it would be an unwise social policy for the government to permit Jews to teach Christian children in schools, unless they were, like him, converts to Christianity. 'Tolerance, properly understood, also has its limits. When one has a pure love for the Church, he cannot remain blind to the serious consequences that will arise from the arrogance of the Jews and their persistent hostility towards Christianity.'<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Hilde Hüttmann, 'August Neander (David Mendel) in seiner Jugendentwicklung', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hamburg, 1936), p. 14-16.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. 15-19.

<sup>141</sup> Christian Kling, 'August Neander, ein Beitrag zu seinem Lebensbilde', *ThSK*, 24 (1851), pp. 459-538 (p. 522).

<sup>142</sup> Kurt-Victor Selge, 'August Neander – ein getaufter Hamburger Jude der Emanzipations- und Restaurationszeit als erster Berliner Kirchenhistoriker', in *450 Jahre Evangelische Theologie in Berlin*, ed. by Gerhard Besier and Christof Gestrinch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1989), pp. 238-39.

<sup>143</sup> Philipp Schaff, *August Neander* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1886), pp. 3-5.

<sup>144</sup> Adelbert Wiegand, *August Neanders Leben* (Erfurt: Friedrich Bartholomäus, 1889), p. 120.



Shortly after relocating to Berlin, Neander joined the circle of ‘the Awakened’ that gathered around a member of the Moravian Brethren and a correspondent of the Basel Christianity Society, Baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz.<sup>145</sup> In 1814, Neander became one of the founding directors of the Central Prussian Bible Society and over the next thirty-five years, from 1815 to 1849, he delivered the general address at its annual meeting twenty-two times.<sup>146</sup> Neander also galvanised support for the creation of a missionary society in Berlin, publishing an appeal in the June 1822 edition of the magazine *Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Reiche Gottes*, whose editor was the director of the religious tract society in Prussia.<sup>147</sup>

Those paramount words of our Lord Christ, ‘You are the salt of the earth, you are the light of the world’, were not addressed merely to his apostles, but to his Church in all times and to every individual Christian. They signify the holy and great calling that is incumbent upon all Christians: to spread ever further the divine life that has been given to them by the grace of the saviour. Everything that is ungodly, everything that stems from the kingdom of darkness and belongs to the same, must give way, until the kingdom of darkness is totally destroyed and all humanity is consecrated as a holy temple to God.<sup>148</sup>

Neander reasoned that as ‘the ancient pagan Germans had received the Christian message from missionaries from England [i.e. Saint Boniface in the early eighth century]’, it was now their obligation to send out missionaries, ‘to the poor heathens of the North, South, East, and West, and, with a kiss of brotherly love, bring out of the darkness and into the house of our heavenly Father, the Africans, the Hindus, the Pacific Islanders, and the Greenlanders’.<sup>149</sup>

An episode from 1823 further illustrates Neander’s religious sensibilities and personal piety. In 1867, an anonymous Prussian military officer reported to the

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<sup>145</sup> Peter Maser, *Hans Ernst von Kottwitz: Studien zur Erweckungsbewegung des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts in Schlesien und Berlin* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1990), p. 85; Justus Jacobi, *Erinnerungen an August Neander* (Halle: Eugen Strien, 1882), p. 31.

<sup>146</sup> 1816-19, 1822, 1824, 1826-8, 1830, 1832-3, 1835, 1837-9, 1841, 1845-6, 1848-9. Wilhelm Thilo, *Geschichte der Preußischen Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft in ihrem ersten Halbjahrhundert, 1814-1864* (Berlin: Preußischen Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft, 1864), pp. 189-91.

<sup>147</sup> Johannes Althausen, ‘Aus den Anfängen der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft’, *JBBKG*, 43 (1968), p. 113.

<sup>148</sup> August Neander, ‘Aufruf zu einer allgemeinen Missions-Gesellschaft’, *NNRG*, 6 (1822), pp. 181-87 (p. 182).

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.

*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* how when he was a young man he went through a time of doubt and spiritual depression that was so bad he decided to approach Neander for counsel, even though he had only read one of his books and never before met him. The cadet reported how Neander warmly received him in his study, spoke with him for several hours, and later wrote him a long letter.

My dear friend! I have been constantly thinking of you and your condition ever since I met you and got to know your warm heart. My most sincere prayers rise to heaven, to Him [Neander capitalises divine pronouns] from whom comes every good gift. I beseech Him who has promised to always be near to those who are of contrite heart, that He will confer His peace upon you, and heal your wounded heart with His own unending love, which He so richly gives us in Christ Jesus!... He has so loved you that He gave His only begotten son for you, so that you might have eternal life, which is irrevocably and certainly yours. He has spared not His own Son, but given Him up for you. How shall He not with Him give you all things? Who can speak against you, when God wishes to look upon you as one who is holy because he is in Christ? Who can damn you, when Christ has died for you and intercedes for you at the right hand of God? Neither affliction, nor fear, nor doubt, nor any of the thoughts which arise within you against your will, nor the powers of darkness and hell, can separate you from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. These are not my words, rather they are the words of God Almighty that are spoken directly to you in the Holy Scriptures. These you must believe and follow. Through them you must pour contempt upon your dark thoughts. Take comfort and joy in your trust in the Almighty Lord, from whose hand no one can snatch you away. Follow steadfastly in the calling which He has given you. Childlike obedience is the sacrifice that is well pleasing to God.<sup>150</sup>

As a scholar, Neander was best known for his *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche*, an eleven-volume work that covered the period from the first century to the Council of Basel in 1431, which was published between 1825 and 1852. In his preface to the first volume of the first edition, Neander offered the following as a programmatic aphorism for his study of the history of Christianity: '*pectus est quod theologum facit*' – 'it is the heart that makes one a theologian'. Neander elaborated how, 'From early on, the chief goal of my life and my studies has been to portray the history of the Church of Christ as a powerful demonstration of the divine power of Christianity,

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<sup>150</sup> Anonymous, 'Ein Brief von August Neander', *EKZ*, 41 (1867), pp. 867-68.

as a school of Christian experience, and as a voice that, as it resounds down through the centuries, edifies, instructs, and warns all of those who deign to listen to it.<sup>151</sup> As the church historian Peter Meinhold noted in his 1967 study, it was his positive attitude towards the entire history of Christianity that separated Neander from ecclesiastical historians who posited that the Church had suffered a ‘Constantinian Fall’ from a supposedly, spiritually pristine state prior to 313, and from those who stressed that ‘progress’ was the leitmotif of the Church’s history.<sup>152</sup>

Two years before his death in 1850, Neander saw his 1813 study on Bernard of Clairvaux republished in a second edition. This furnished him with an opportunity to reflect upon how the Awakening movement had influenced theological scholarship during the intervening thirty-five years. ‘My monograph on Bernhard first appeared at a time in which a new life of faith had awakened. It began to breathe a new life into scholarship. Individuals were driven by love to inquire into the sources of Christian life from the early centuries and to try and comprehend everything that was Christian...both life and scholarship came together and passed judgment against the shallow, spiritless, heartless Enlightenment.’<sup>153</sup> Neander believed that the ultimate subject of study in the history of Christianity was God himself; moreover, he believed that he was able to discern the work of the Holy Spirit in the lives of believers in every century. As he stated in the preface to an 1828 study of the history of the Church of Scotland, ‘it is appropriate for us to now have such a study as this, because it is in the interest of the Christian life that has recently awakened among us that we freely search for, recognise, and embrace with love that which is Christian, in every form of its historical development’.<sup>154</sup> With such presuppositions, Neander wrote biographical studies on a very wide range of figures: Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Julian the Apostate, John Chrysostom, Berengar of Tours, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, Jan Huss,

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<sup>151</sup> August Neander, *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche*, I (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1826), p. vii.

<sup>152</sup> Meinhold, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Historiographie*, pp. 151-54.

<sup>153</sup> August Neander, *Der heilige Bernhard und sein Zeitalter* (Hamburg: Friedrich and Andreas Perthes, 1848), p. xii.

<sup>154</sup> August Neander, ‘Vorwort’, in *Die schottische Nationalkirche, nach ihrer gegenwärtigen inner und äussern Verfassung*, by August Gemberg (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1828), p. x.

Marco Antonio Flaminio, Theobald Thamer, William Chillingworth, Richard Baxter, Blaise Pascal, Jean Frédéric Oberlin, William Wilberforce, and Thomas Arnold, among others.

Together with Karl Nitzsch and Julius Müller, Neander founded a new academic journal, the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft and christliches Leben* (*German Journal for Christian Scholarship and Christian Life*), several months before his death in 1850. They did so out of their concern for how Germany appeared to them to be standing at a totally unprecedented religious crossroads.<sup>155</sup> To the journal's first volume Neander contributed an essay entitled 'The preceding half-century in its relationship to the present'.<sup>156</sup> Herein, he described how by this time Protestant rationalism, the original nemesis of the Awakening, had disappeared. Neander discerned that German religious life had become polarized between the proponents of the Awakening movement and those of a '*rationalistische Volksbewegung*'.<sup>157</sup> He alleged that this popular movement 'no longer bothers to attempt to reconcile reason and faith and openly promotes unbelief among the common people.'<sup>158</sup> Neander was dismayed that 'the opponents of Christianity are becoming more and more radical in their advocacy for the destruction of everything which mankind holds as precious.' Adopting a prophetic tone, Neander warned that in the following fifty years (i.e. from 1850 to 1900), the struggle between these two mutually exclusive religious and cultural trajectories would determine the future of the German people and the continent of Europe.<sup>159</sup>

## 4.7 Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated how new developments within early nineteenth-century academic theology were expressions of religious awakenings that had occurred in Protestant communities in Germany. The respective schools of thought reflected

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<sup>155</sup> August Neander, Karl Nitzsch, Julius Müller, 'Programm', *DZWL*, 1 (1850), pp. 1-2.

<sup>156</sup> August Neander, 'Das verflossene halbe Jahrhundert in seinem Verhältniss zur Gegenwart', *DZWL*, 1 (1850), pp. 3-29.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

many theologians' own personal religious experiences of awakening. These considerably shaped the aims and methods of their scholarship as modern confessional and mediating theologians. Recognising how university professors were influential leaders in the Awakening movement through their lecturing, writing, and roles in new religious voluntary societies underscores an important point about the social composition of the movement. It was not simply a phenomenon of popular religious culture. Rather, different theological varieties of awakened Protestantism were fostered by some of the most learned members of the Protestant churches of Germany. They used their status and authority to promote such beliefs and assumed doing so was a responsibility of the academic and ecclesiastical offices that they held.

## Chapter Five: The Awakening and new religious societies for evangelism

### Introduction

The preceding two chapters have analysed the Awakening through the preaching of those who have been called awakened ministers (*Erweckungsprediger*) and through the scholarship of those described as awakened theologians (*Erweckungstheologe*). These religious leaders exhorted the members of their Churches to ‘awaken’ from either their religious apathy or their wrong beliefs and to embrace the historic Protestant teachings from which Churches had turned under the influence of the Protestant religious Enlightenment. The second part of the compound noun that German scholars most commonly use for the Awakening (*Erweckungsbewegung*) emphasizes that the Awakening consisted not only of calls for the reform of the Protestant Churches, but was also a popular ‘movement’ (*Bewegung*). The next two chapters examine the Awakening as a popular movement by concentrating on the proliferation of religious societies and institutions.

This chapter considers the earliest of these extra-ecclesial organisations: the societies for the distribution of Bibles and religious literature in Germany and the societies for sending missionaries to non-Christian regions and Jewish communities in Europe. The following chapter will take up those religious societies and institutions that were established later, and which were also dedicated to evangelistic goals, but which pursued them in conjunction with their caritative efforts. The dual objectives of the later kinds of new religious organisations are readily seen in how they were contemporarily described as *Rettungsanstalten*, ‘institutions of rescue and salvation’. They reflected the belief that people who lived in poverty or in other difficult circumstances were often inhibited from receiving the Christian message and that the evangelisation of such people required the improvement of their living conditions.

Awakened Protestants throughout Germany initially envisioned both new kinds of organisations as the means to join with like-minded Christians in working for shared evangelistic goals. They were motivated by concern over ‘*Rationalismus*’ within their churches, ‘*Unkirchlichkeit*’ in their society, and the spiritual condition of non-Christian

peoples. The new associations were distinct from the Protestant churches of Germany, but were not intended to be alternatives or rivals. Their presence established a new sphere of religious activity between the individual Christian and the institutional churches. The new societies also provided the institutional bases to reinforce and perpetuate an awakened Protestant religious identity within the Churches.

In establishing the new religious societies and institutions, awakened Protestants rationalised how they practiced both evangelism and charity. Within traditional German Protestantism, preaching the gospel and providing assistance to the poor and needy had been the province of local churches.<sup>1</sup> The rationalisation of evangelism and charity brought these Christian activities into an emerging sphere of civil society that was populated by voluntary associations of all kinds. Forms of Christian service were removed from the sole control of churches and placed under the administrative management of religious societies as well. These societies were united by their shared religious beliefs and commitments.

Through the new societies and institutions, Awakened Protestants rationalised the tasks of evangelism and charity in several ways. Administrative committees (*Verwaltungs-Ausschüsse*) centrally coordinated the efforts of these societies through the bureaucratic management of both their ministerial work and the fundraising that was necessary to facilitate the work. Organisationally, many of the new evangelistic societies that were founded by awakened Protestants in Germany standardised their constitutions and activities according to models which they judged to have proven successful. These organisational models originated from England and were then copied throughout Germany. Awakened Protestants further rationalised evangelism by financing specialised education and training for missionaries and deacons and deaconesses. Perhaps most of all, religious societies rationalised evangelism by developing large networks of financial contributors. The central committees of the societies created bonds

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<sup>1</sup> Paulus Scharpff, *Geschichte der Evangelisation: Dreihundert Jahre Evangelisation in Deutschland, Grossbritannien und USA* (Giessen: Brunnen Verlag, 1964), pp. 8-57; Herbert Krimm, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte der Diakonie, II: Reformation und Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1963), pp. 3-73.

between financial contributors and active agents through their annual meetings, which included fiscal reports and news of what the society had accomplished that year.

Before analysing the new religious societies in detail, we will survey their appearance as a new phenomenon within German Protestantism from several different angles. The significance of the new extra-ecclesial societies becomes most apparent when they are considered in their long-term historical context.

### **5.1 The new evangelistic societies in long-term historical context**

From the Reformation until the Awakening, German Protestantism had had virtually only one institutional religious form: the thousands of local churches that subscribed either to the Lutheran Augsburg Confession of Faith or to a number of Reformed confessions. These individual congregations aggregately comprised the established churches (*Landeskirchen*) of the free cities, principalities, duchies, electorates, and kingdoms of Germany.<sup>2</sup>

For centuries, the monastic orders of the Latin-speaking Western Church and the post-Reformation Roman Catholic Church had furnished opportunities for men and women to join ecclesial organisations that were dedicated to specialized forms of Christian ministry. In contrast, during the first three centuries of German Protestantism no comparable religious organisations or institutions existed. This meant that church membership was the only kind of corporate religious experience available to most German Protestants. The absence of such religious organisations was one of the factors that contributed to the growth of confessionally-circumscribed communities. A consequence of this confessionalisation was the development of antagonistic relationships between Lutheran and Reformed Protestant parties, whose theological distinctions were cast into sharper relief by the promulgation of the Heidelberg Catechism in 1563 and the Formula of Concord in Dresden in 1577. Emblematic of this confessionalism was the Wittenberg theologian Polykarp Leyser's 1602 vituperative

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<sup>2</sup> Minor, possible exceptions to this were the informal lay Bible study and prayer-meetings (*Konventikel*) that prevailed among Pietists and the small number of separatist religious communities, such as those of the Moravian Brethren. Wolfgang Hardtwig, *Genossenschaft, Sekte, Verein in Deutschland: Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Französischen Revolution* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1997), pp. 175-96.



treatise, *Whether, how, and why one should rather trust and have fellowship with the Papists than with the Calvinists*.<sup>3</sup>

Even so, German Protestant horizons did at times extend beyond such confessional boundaries, at least in principle. From the time of the Reformers, Protestants had professed their faith in the doctrine of the invisible Church (*die unsichtbare Kirche*), which held that all true Christians comprised the one body of Christ and that membership in the Church of Christ transcended the memberships of their different, particular churches.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, as Martin Luther had declared in his 1520 treatise *On the Papacy*:

The nature and essence of the Christian community (*Christenheit*) is not found in physical membership to one church on earth, but rather lies in how the hearts of believers come together and unite in one faith, as Paul says in Ephesians 4: one baptism, one faith, and one Lord. Neither any city, nor any period of time, nor any person, nor any human work, nor anything else except for the spiritual unity of faith, that 'communion of the saints' that we confess in the Apostles' Creed, is able to constitute the Christian community.<sup>5</sup>

Nonetheless, the invisible Church remained for centuries a purely abstract theological concept within German Protestantism. There were no major attempts to organise the invisible Church by creating new extra-ecclesial religious organisations based on its theological premise before the nineteenth century.

This heretofore prevailing dynamic changed in a profound way during the Awakening through the establishment of new religious societies and associations (*Gesellschaften* and *Vereine*) that were both extra-ecclesial and trans-confessional.<sup>6</sup> It is a truly deep historical irony of the Awakening that for as much as awakened Protestants

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<sup>3</sup> Joel F. Harrington and Helmut Walser Smith, 'Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany, 1555-1870', *JMH*, 69 (1997), pp. 77-101 (p. 78-82); Polykarp Leyser, *Ob, wie, und warumb man lieber mit den Papisten Gemeinschaft haben, und gleichsam mehr Vertrauen zu ihnen tragen solle, Denn mit, und zu den Calvinisten* (Wittenberg, 1602).

<sup>4</sup> A.F. Münchmeyer, *Das Dogma von der sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Kirche: Eine historisch-kritischer Versuch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1854).

<sup>5</sup> Martin Luther, 'Von dem Papstum zu Rom wider den hochberühmten Romanisten zu Leipzig', *WA*, VI (1888), pp. 277-324 (p. 293).

<sup>6</sup> Lucian Hölscher, *Geschichte der protestantischen Frömmigkeit in Deutschland* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005), pp. 259-69.

rejected the theology of the Protestant Enlightenment as mere ‘rationalism’, they enthusiastically embraced what Martin Jung has described as the premier societal expression of the Enlightenment: *der Verein* (the association).<sup>7</sup> Indeed, as Jung has noted, the word *Verein*, ‘entered the German lexicon for the first time at the end of the eighteenth century to refer to a new type of social organisation’, one in which likeminded individuals came together publically to collaborate upon common interests and goals.<sup>8</sup> The rapid multiplication across Germany of local chapters of new Protestant organisations that were dedicated to the distribution of Bibles, to the distribution of evangelistic tracts and religious literature, and to supporting the work of missionaries among historically non-Christian ‘heathen’ peoples in Asia, Africa, the Americas and Oceania and among the Jewish people in Europe was unprecedented in the history of German Protestantism.<sup>9</sup> That awakened Protestants founded hundreds of religious associations throughout Germany for religious objectives which they believed their churches ill-suited, unable, or unwilling to pursue marks a major development within German Protestantism.<sup>10</sup>

To be sure, it is possible to identify several historical antecedents of these various evangelistic undertakings. For example, the Duchess Dorothea Sibylla had organised a campaign to distribute Bibles to poor people in Silesia in 1619, just as the Baron Karl Hildebrand von Canstein had created a printing house to do the same in Halle in 1710.<sup>11</sup> Before his death in the interior of Surinam in 1668, where he went as an evangelist to the indigenous inhabitants of the Dutch colony in South America, the Austrian-born Baron Justinian Ernst von Welz had in 1664 become the first German Protestant to propose the foundation of a missionary society, which he suggested be

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<sup>7</sup> Martin Jung, *Der Protestantismus in Deutschland von 1815 bis 1870* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), p. 120.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>9</sup> Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), pp. 189-91.

<sup>10</sup> Klaus Pönnighaus, *Kirchliche Vereine zwischen Rationalismus und Erweckung: Ihr Wirken und ihre Bedeutung vornehmlich am Beispiel des Fürstentums Lippe dargestellt* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1982).

<sup>11</sup> Johann Christoph Blumhardt, ‘Die erste Bibelgesellschaft in Deutschland’, *MnGeMBG*, 23 (1838), pp. 60-61 (p. 60); August Schürmann, *Zur Geschichte der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses und der Cansteinschen Bibelanstalt in Halle a. S.* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1898), pp. 26-65.

called the ‘Jesus-Loving Society’ (*Jesus-liebende Gesellschaft*).<sup>12</sup> In 1667, instead of entering parish ministry after the completion of his course of theological studies at the Universities of Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Rostock, the German Lutheran Hebrew-language scholar Esdras Edzardi decided to create an institution (*die Proselytenanstalt*) to support his evangelistic ministry to the Jewish community in Hamburg and to provide financial maintenance to those Jewish converts who were shunned by their family and community members after their receiving baptism.<sup>13</sup> The royal Danish-Halle mission to southern India began in 1705 and under the leadership of Count Nikolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf the first missionaries of the Moravian Brethren were sent to Danish colonies in the Caribbean and Greenland in 1732 and 1733.<sup>14</sup> However, the scale of these earlier evangelistic efforts pales when compared to those of the Awakening. The rapid growth of religious societies in the early decades of nineteenth-century is not attributable to the power of religious ideas alone, but also reflects both the new freedoms that individuals possessed in post-Enlightenment German society and the increased wealth in middle-class hands that enabled the financing of such enterprises.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, it was the freedoms brought to Germany by the Enlightenment that enabled the awakened religious societies to flourish.

Under the confessional regime of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the local Protestant rulers within the Holy Roman Empire functioned as the supreme bishop (*summus episcopus/oberster Bischof*) of the Church in their lands, it was very difficult, if not illegal, for individual Christians to meet together for independent religious purposes without the permission of their prince. As the early twentieth-century University of Breslau professor Hans Leube noted in his major study of German Pietism, many confessionally orthodox eighteenth-century German Protestant princes greatly

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<sup>12</sup> Fritz Laubach, *Justinian von Welz: Ein Österreicher als Vordenker und Pionier des Weltmission* (Zürich: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1989), pp. 18-19, p. 31.

<sup>13</sup> Jutta Braden, *Hamburger Judenpolitik im Zeitalter lutherischen Orthodoxie, 1590-1710* (Hamburg: Christians, 2001), p. 310.

<sup>14</sup> Dietrich Meyer, *Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine, 1700-2000* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000), p. 40.

<sup>15</sup> Frank-Michael Kuhlemann, ‘Bürgertum und Religion’, in *Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des Bürgertums: eine Bilanz des Bielefelder Sonderforschungsbereichs*, ed. by Peter Lundgreen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 293-318 (p. 303).

admired the degree of political centralisation that the ‘Most Christian’ King of France, Louis XIV, had achieved during his long reign (1638-1715) and they sought to enact the same degree of absolutist control in their realms. Such Protestant rulers generally took dim views of the extra-ecclesial meetings of Pietists as potential sources of social instability and by 1740, such gatherings had become forbidden nearly everywhere in the Empire, save for the Duchy of Württemberg and the Kingdom of Prussia.<sup>16</sup> Indeed it was only because Nicklaus Ludwig had the imperial constitutional privileges of being the Count of Zinzendorf that he was able to offer protection to the Moravian Brethren who had sought sanctuary on his estates. Conversely, the rights of individuals to form civil societies, in general, and societies for religious purposes, in particular, were officially recognised through the root-and-branch, Enlightenment-era revision of the Prussian legal code that had been ordered by Friedrich II (‘Frederick the Great’) and which was completed with the publication, eight years after his death, of the *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preußischen Staaten* in 1794.<sup>17</sup>

## 5.2 The origins and growth of new evangelistic societies

The mushrooming of Protestant religious societies in the early years of the nineteenth century represented the power that the religious beliefs of the Awakening had to inspire individuals to join together. It also reflected how major changes in German society gave individuals more liberty, making it possible for them to act upon their religious beliefs in new ways. As Michael Häusler, the senior archivist of *Diakonie Deutschland*, has observed, the foundation of extra-ecclesial religious societies catalysed a major change within German Protestantism that he and other scholars have described as ‘*die Verbürgerlichung des kirchlichen Lebens*.’<sup>18</sup>

The concept of *Verbürgerlichung* expresses how Germany’s *Bürger*, those middle-class tradesmen and professionals who had special political rights as the

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<sup>16</sup> Hans Leube, ‘Pietismus zwischen kirchlicher Erneuerung und Weltverantwortung’, in *Orthodoxie und Pietismus: Gesammelte Studien* (Bielefeld: Luther Verlag, 1975), pp. 113-28 (p. 119).

<sup>17</sup> ALR 2.6: ‘Von Gesellschaften überhaupt, und von Corporationen und Gemeinen insonderheit;’ ALR 2.11: ‘Von den Rechten und Pflichten der Kirchen und geistlichen Gesellschaften.’

<sup>18</sup> Michael Häusler, ‘Vereinswesen/Kirchliche Vereine I’, *TRE*, XXXIV (2002), 639-54.

residents of cities, began to transform German society in the nineteenth century in accordance with their economic and political aspirations. Jürgen Kocka has described *Verbürgerlichung* as the process by which Germany's urban middle-classes strove to build, 'an economic, social, and political order, where royal absolutism, the inherited privileges of class, and paternalistic clerical authority were eliminated and replaced by the principle that legally regulated individual freedom was the right of everyone; where harmonious community life was guaranteed by reason... and where art, scholarship, and religion were accorded a high degree of autonomy in each of their separate respective spheres'.<sup>19</sup> However, as Ulrike Gleixner has observed, inherent in such a historiographical conceptualisation of these social changes is the implicit elision of the phenomenon of *Verbürgerlichung* with that of secularisation. To the contrary, Gleixner argues in the conclusion to her study *Pietismus und Bürgertum* that 'too little attention has been paid to how the seventeenth-century movements for piety (*Frömmigkeitsbewegungen*) and the European and trans-Atlantic Awakenings (*Erweckungsbewegungen*) of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were modern processes of cultural re-Christianisation that unfolded in parallel to those processes of secularisation and de-Christianisation.'<sup>20</sup> Gleixner concludes that one 'must recognise how the *bürgerliche* path to modernity cannot be thought of as one that led only to secularisation of society but also as one that led to society's re-Christianisation as well.'<sup>21</sup> Thus the '*Verbürgerlichung* of the life of the Church' refers to the transformation of churches from institutions that had been dominated from 1555 until 1806 by the authority of kings and princes under the principle of *cuius regio eius religio*, to ones that were led by Germany's *Bürger*.

In establishing their new religious societies, awakened German Protestants sought to emulate the work of several organisations previously established in the United Kingdom: the London Missionary Society (founded 1795), the Religious Tract Society

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<sup>19</sup> Jürgen Kocka, 'Das europäische Muster und der deutsche Fall', in *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, I, ed. by Jürgen Kocka (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), pp. 9-84 (p. 23).

<sup>20</sup> Ulrike Gleixner, *Pietismus und Bürgertum: eine historische Anthropologie der Frömmigkeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2005), p. 393.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 393.

(1799), the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), and the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews (1809). News of these societies initially came to Germany through contacts that members of the German Christianity Society and the Moravian Brethren had with evangelical Anglicans and dissenters in England.<sup>22</sup> Beginning in April 1797, accounts of their early activities were distributed across the Continent through the former's monthly magazine, *Collections for the Lovers of Christian Truth and Godliness* (*Sammlungen für Liebhaber christlicher Wahrheit und Gottseligkeit*).<sup>23</sup>

Those British and German Protestants who were involved in these new religious voluntary societies were mutually supportive. In a sermon that he preached in 1814 at St Swithin's Church in the City of London, the Anglican priest Henry George Watkins lauded what he described as the 'apostolic ministry' of two Germans: Karl Friedrich Steinkopf, for his distribution of Bibles throughout Europe, and Christian Friedrich Schwartz, for his missionary service among the Tamil people in southern India.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Watkins claimed that the beginnings of modern Protestant missions had been a joint British-German venture, in which the Germans had thus far occupied the pride of place.

Germany, more than any other Protestant nation, has provided active AGENTS, to *civilize* the pagan world, by the best of all means – the ministration of the gospel of Jesus Christ. *Money* to a large amount has been collected from *our abundance*, for the godlike object of evangelizing our fellow men, sitting the darkness of the shadow of death...but who from among ourselves, has willingly offered his personal comfort, and put his life to hazard, in going forth to the help of Lord, against the mighty legions of the Pagan world. It is in *Germany*, almost exclusively, that men have been found, who counted not their lives dear unto themselves, so that they might become acceptable instruments in the hand of God to 'turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God [Acts 26:18]:' so that they might be helpful in 'accomplishing the number of God's

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<sup>22</sup> Andrew Kloes, 'The Committee for the Relief of Distress in Germany', *PuN* 40 (2014), pp. 163-201 (p. 171-81).

<sup>23</sup> 'Wichtige Nachricht aus dem Reiche Gottes', *SLchWG*, 12 (1797), pp. 122-25.

<sup>24</sup> Henry George Watkins, 'Distress in Germany', *A Sermon Preached in the Church of the United Parishes of St. Swithin, and St. Mary Bothaw, Cannon Street, on Sunday, February 20, 1814* (London: Hatchard, 1814), p. 11, p. 22.

elect, and hastening his kingdom [2 Peter 3:12; all emphases are in the original text].<sup>25</sup>

With an equal degree of flattery and deference, the University of Halle professor of theology August Tholuck remarked in the preface to the English translation of his commentary on the Apostle Paul's Epistle to the Romans, that it was the British who had been in the vanguard of modern forms of Protestant evangelism.

How glorious it would be, if the Protestant churches, of all nations, were thus, like sisters, to join hand in hand, in order, with one accord, to advance the great work of building up the kingdom of God! To Great Britain, in these modern days, we Germans are already under no small obligations. The serious practical Christianity of your island, which has manifested itself since the beginning of the present century, in its numerous philanthropic and religious undertakings, has afforded us a model for similar institutions, and in our country also Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies have sprung up.<sup>26</sup>

Beginning with the establishment of the first German Bible society in Nuremberg on Reformation Day (31 October) 1804, additional societies were formed to raise funds to print and distribute, not only German translations of the Bible and New Testament, but also French, Polish, Czech, Danish, Swedish, and Sorbian (Wendish) versions as well, in the following important regional cities: Basel (1804), Danzig (1806), Königsberg (1810), Leipzig (1812), Stuttgart (1812), Berlin (1814), Breslau (1814), Elberfeld (1814), Dresden (1814), Hamburg (1814), Hannover (1814), Lübeck (1814), Bremen (1815), Magdeburg (1815), Schleswig (1815), Schwerin (1815), Darmstadt (1816), Frankfurt (1816), Stettin (1816), Posen (1817), Göttingen (1818), Karlsruhe (1820), and Weimar (1820), among others. The Bible societies that were established in large cities, in turn, sponsored the creation of 'daughter societies' and 'associate societies', in their surrounding areas, which collected additional donations on behalf of their mother societies. These enabled more people in the countryside to participate in such evangelistic endeavours. Such feelings were reinforced through the central societies' annual thanksgiving worship services and publication of annual reports that

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-9.

<sup>26</sup> August Tholuck, 'Preface', *Tholuck's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, trans. by Robert Menzies (Edinburgh: Thomas Clark, 1833), pp. v-vi.

contained the sermons from these occasions and detailed descriptions of the societies' income, expenditures, and activities. According to Wilhelm Gundert, altogether there were 141 Bible societies in the cities, towns, and villages of German-speaking Europe by 1820; 265 by 1830; 326 by 1840; and 367 by 1850.<sup>27</sup>

Societies for the distributions of religious tracts and devotional literature were founded in Heidelberg (1804), East Friesland (1804), Frankfurt-am-Main (1813), Nuremberg (1813), Stuttgart (1809), Eisleben (1811), Barmen (1814), Berlin (1814), Detmold (1814), Elberfeld (1814), Erlangen (1814), Glashagen (1814), Hanover (1814), Helmsdorf (1814), Merseburg (1814), Overdyk (1814), Rostock (1814), Cologne (1815), Strasburg (1815), Gorlitz (1817), Greifswald (1817), Magdeburg (1817), Memel (1817), Hamburg (1820), Leipzig (1821), Bremen (1823), Karlsruhe (1827), Augsburg (1827), and Calw (1829).<sup>28</sup> Such societies also relied upon networks of supporters, who were resident in areas that lay beyond their immediate vicinities. For example, in 1827, the Central Association for Devotional Literature in the Prussian States in Berlin reported receiving donations from 149 other cities, towns, and villages throughout the kingdom.<sup>29</sup> These societies published several million copies of several hundred booklets, pamphlets, and tracts during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup>

A similar pattern of expansion obtained among the German missionary societies. Following the founding of the first two missionary societies in East Friesland (1798) and in Elberfeld (1799), there was a lull in the expansion of additional missionary societies until after the Napoleonic Wars, when the establishment of the missionary society in Basel in 1815 stimulated the creation of societies in the following towns and cities: Krefeld (1816), Leonberg (1816), Stuttgart (1816), Frankfurt-am-Main (1817), Barmen

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<sup>27</sup> Wilhelm Gundert, *Geschichte der Deutschen Bibelgesellschaften im 19. Jahrhundert* (Bielefeld: Luther-Verlag, 1987), pp. 361-73.

<sup>28</sup> Religious Tract Society, *Proceedings of the First Twenty Years of the Religious Tract Society* (London: Benjamin Bensley, 1820), p. 64, p. 71, p. 203, p. 251, pp. 271-72, pp. 281-83, p. 320, p. 356, p. 394; Walter Hahn, 'Der Augsburger Traktat (Schriften) – Verein', *ZBKG*, 50 (1981), pp. 66-79 (pp. 66-67); 'Einleitung', *VVDTG*, 1 (1857), p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Anonymous, *Nachweisung über Einnahme und Ausgabe, gedruckte und vertheilte Schriften, Mitglieder, Wohlthäter und Tochter-Gesellschaften des Haupt-Vereins für christliche Erbauungsschriften in den Preussischen Staaten aus dem Jahre 1826* (Berlin: Trowitzsch und Sohn, 1827), pp. 19-40.

<sup>30</sup> William F. Mundt, 'Sinners Directed to the Saviour: The Religious Tract Society Movement in Germany, 1811-1848', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Utrecht, 1995), p. 114, p. 132.



(1818), Bremen (1819), Dresden (1819), Leipzig (1819), Tübingen (1819), Erlangen (1819), Lübeck (1820), Hamburg (1822), Cologne (1822), Königsberg (1822), Nuremberg (1822), Wesel (1822), Berlin (1823), Breslau (1823), Danzig (1826), Stettin (1824), Potsdam (1828), Breslau (1828), Ruppin (1828), Frankfurt-an-der-Oder (1829), Magdeburg (1829), Stade (1832), Celle (1832), Lüneburg (1833), Hildesheim (1833), Hannover (1833), and Göttingen (1836).<sup>31</sup> The missionary societies received donations from those living in rural, outlying areas, to who received annual reports and were invited to their yearly celebrations. For example, the 1832 report of the Dresden Missionary Society acknowledged contributions from 113 'branch societies' in towns and villages throughout the Kingdom of Saxony. The 1842 report of the Missionary Society of the Rhineland reported having received financial contributions from 'supporters' societies' in 223 communities throughout western Germany.<sup>32</sup>

Likewise, awakened Protestants exhibited their keen interest in the evangelism of Jewish people by establishing societies in Basel (1820), Frankfurt (1820), Detmold (1820), Elberfeld (1820), Berlin (1822), Breslau (1822), Königsberg (1822), Bremen (1822), Dresden (1822), Posen (1822), Stettin (1822), Cologne (1825), Strasburg (1826), Barmen (1838), Leipzig (1839), East Friesland (1840), Cologne (1842), Kassel (1844), Hamburg (1844), and Hesse (1845).<sup>33</sup> The purpose of these societies was to distribute

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<sup>31</sup> Christian Goßweiler, *Unterwegs zur Integration von Kirche und Mission untersucht am Beispiel der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft* (Erlangen: Verlag der Evangelischen-Lutherischen Mission, 1994), p. 23; Henry Holze, *Kirche und Mission bei Ludwig Adolf Petri: Ein Beitrag zum Missionsgespräch des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1966), p. 16, p. 23; Hartwig Harms, *Hamburg und die Mission zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts: Kirchlich-missionarische Vereine 1814 bis 1836* (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, 1973), pp. 136-41; Wilhelm Oehler, *Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Mission, I: Frühzeit und Blüte der deutschen evangelischen Mission, 1706-1885* (Baden-Baden: Wilhelm Fehrholz Verlag, 1949), pp. 193-96, p. 214; Julius Richter, *Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, 1824-1924* (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner ev. Missionsgesellschaft, 1924), p. 45, p. 50, p. 73, pp. 83-85; Wilhelm Schlatter, *Geschichte der Basler Mission, 1815-1915, I* (Basel: Verlag der Basler Missionsbuchhandlung, 1916), pp. 38-58.

<sup>32</sup> *Dreizehnter Jahresbericht des Missions-Vereines zu Dresden* (Dresden: Königliche Hofbuchdruckerei von C.C. Meinhold und Söhnen, 1832), pp. 15-17; Johann Hartwig Brauer, *Gesellschaften der Evangelischen Kirche des Europäischen Westlandes, I* (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhes Hauses, 1847), p. 309.

<sup>33</sup> Brauer, *Gesellschaften der Evangelischen Kirche des Europäischen Westlandes, I*, pp. 20-54; A.E. Thompson, *A Century of Jewish Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902), pp. 129-40.

religious literature and support missionaries to Jewish communities in Germany and Eastern Europe.

Awakened Protestants demonstrated considerable interest in reading news about the work of the evangelistic societies, not only in Germany and the United Kingdom, but also in Europe and the United States. In 1816, the first of many monthly religious periodicals began publication. That year the Basel Missionary Society published the first issue of its *Latest News of the Protestant Missionary and Bible Societies: A Journal for the Friends of Christianity and Humanity* (*Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der protestantischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften: Eine Zeitschrift für Freunde des Christenthums und der Menschheit*).<sup>34</sup> The society's director Christian Gottlieb Blumhardt, quoted with approval from Hugh Pearsall's 1807 University of Oxford prize-winning essay, 'A Brief Historic View of the Progress of the Gospel in Different Nations since its First Promulgation', and declared that the new Protestant societies had 'inaugurated a new era in the history of the Church of Jesus on earth.'<sup>35</sup>

Blumhardt lamented how during the late antique, medieval, and early modern periods many European Christian rulers had compelled conversions to Christianity. He now believed that through these new societies the Church was finally recovering the 'apostolic spirit of missions.'<sup>36</sup> For him, the non-coercive methods of these societies represented a return to the evangelistic practices of the early Church. Moreover, Blumhardt held that these societies had great potential to contribute towards the general improvement of humanity.

The long course of the history of missions across the centuries confirms that through the spread of our divine religion the world has always and everywhere become more civilised. Historically, the level of culture of the peoples of the earth has risen or fallen correspondingly to whether the light of the truth of the Gospel has shone upon them or whether they have remained in the darkness of the fog of superstition. The gospel of Jesus has always been the most faithful

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<sup>34</sup> Without offering any clarifying explanations as to the significance of the distinction, in 1818 the Basel Missionary Society retitled their publication from the *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der protestantischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften* to the *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften*.

<sup>35</sup> Christian Blumhardt, 'Grundzüge der Missionsgeschichte', *MnGpMBG*, 1 (1816), pp. 6-84 (p. 84).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

friend and the most effective advocate of authentic spiritual enlightenment (*Geistesaufklärung*) and it is still so in this very hour.<sup>37</sup>

From 1817 to 1856, the Prussian Central Bible Society published a similar monthly periodical, its *Latest News from the Kingdom of God* (*Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Reiche Gottes*). In his 1990 study, Peter Maser estimated that this publication was ‘arguably, the most important means of communicating the news of their activities that awakened Protestants ever possessed.’<sup>38</sup> The founding editor of this magazine was Samuel Elsner, a merchant and a member of the Bethlehem Church of the Moravian Brethren in Berlin, who served as the secretary of both the Prussian Central Bible Society and the Central Association for Christian Devotional Literature in the Prussian States.<sup>39</sup> In its first issue, Elsner explained the origins, scope and potential readership of the magazine.

The encouraging success with which the missionary societies, Bible societies, and associations for distributing Christian tracts and devotional literature have been crowned in nearly all the kingdoms of Europe in the few years since they have been founded, has been just as surprising as their work has been edifying. Wondrously, these societies have led to the spiritual awakening of many people. Reports of their successes have excited in their scattered supporters throughout Germany the desire to have a specially published historical review dedicated exclusively to their efforts, so that they might thereby receive a more accurate knowledge of their successes and be informed how, through their work, the Kingdom of Christ is being built throughout the world. The purpose of this magazine is to satisfy this wish and at the same time to awaken universal attention to these significant developments in our days.<sup>40</sup>

By collecting the official reports of these new kinds of extra-ecclesial Protestant organisations in Germany, publishing them together with translations of the reports of similar organisations in the United Kingdom, the United States, the Netherlands, Switzerland, France, and Scandinavia, and equating their collective activities with the

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 81-82.

<sup>38</sup> Peter Maser, *Hans Ernst von Kottwitz: Studien zur Erweckungsbewegung des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts in Schlesien und Berlin* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1990), p. 22.

<sup>39</sup> M. Funk, *Samuel Elsner: Eine Lebensskizze* (Berlin: Hauptverein für christliche Erbauungsschriften, 1878).

<sup>40</sup> ‘Einleitung’, *NNRG*, 1 (1817), p. i.

growth of the 'Kingdom of God', Blumhardt and Elsner developed a distinctive theological interpretation. They portrayed the Awakening in Germany as but one national instance of a larger transnational religious movement.<sup>41</sup>

For example, in addition to its coverage of German-speaking Europe, the *Latest News from the Kingdom of God* published accounts in 1818 of work in Honduras, Louisiana, Persia, Siberia, southern Africa, and Tahiti.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, in 1825 the *Latest News of the Protestant Missionary and Bible Societies* observed how institutes for the training of missionaries had been established not only in Berlin (1800) and Basel (1816), but also in Gosport, England (1801), Massachusetts (Andover Theological Seminary, 1807), Rotterdam (1810), New Jersey (Princeton Theological Seminary, 1812), Edinburgh (1820), Paris (1824), and London (1825).<sup>43</sup> Additional periodicals on the European and global work of the religious societies began in Königsberg in East Prussia in 1824, in Barmen in the Rhineland in 1826, and Calw in Württemberg in 1828.<sup>44</sup> Beginning in 1826, the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, an academic theological journal, also regularly published reports of national and international news from the Bible, missionary, and religious tract societies. As previously noted, it was edited by the awakened University of Berlin professor of theology Ernst Hengstenberg, who as a young man had spent one year teaching Arabic and Hebrew at the missionary academy in Basel.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Christian Blumhardt, 'Fortschritte des evangelischen Missions-Werkes im Laufe der jüngstverflossenen 25 Jahre des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts', *MnGpMBG*, 10 (1825), pp. 696-704.

<sup>42</sup> 'Bericht von Alfred Hennen, Sekretär der Louisiana-Bibelgesellschaft', 'Bericht vom Prediger Armstrong in Honduras, vom 21sten Januar 1817', 'Audienz der beiden Britischen Missionarien Stallybras und Rahmu bei Sr. Majestät dem Kaiser Alexander, auf ihrer Reise nach Irkutsk', 'Das Reich Gottes unter den Hottentotten, Aus einem Schreiben des Missionar Ebner', 'Früchte der Verkündigung des Wortes Gottes in Persien', 'Die Ausbreitung des Christenthums in Otaheite', *NNRG*, 2 (1818), p. 15, p. 120, p. 173, p. 319, p. 361, p. 391.

<sup>43</sup> Blumhardt, 'Fortschritte des evangelischen Missions-Werkes', pp. 661-62.

<sup>44</sup> *Königsberger Missionsblatt*; *Das Missionsblatt* (Barmer Missiongesellschaft); *Das Calwer Missionsblatt*.

<sup>45</sup> Ranke, Otto von, 'Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg', *ADB*, XI (1880), 737-47.

### 5.3 Contemporary interpretations of the evangelistic societies

The founding of the religious societies elicited a range of positive and negative interpretations from contemporary Protestants. One of the most senior religious leaders to remark on the new phenomenon of Protestant religious societies was Rulemann Friedrich Eylert, who had been a Reformed parish minister in Westphalia before King Friedrich Wilhelm III appointed him as the presiding bishop of the newly united Protestant Church of Prussia in 1818.<sup>46</sup> In the beginning of a sermon that he preached at the annual meeting of the Potsdam Bible Society at the royal Garrison Church in Potsdam in 1819, Eylert reflected how:

The urge to found societies (*Gesellschaften*), the desire to form connections with others, lies deep within the human breast and springs forth from the feelings of weakness that an individual has as long as he stands apart on his own. It is obvious to him how much more the united powers of many are able to achieve whenever their principles, sympathies, intentions and efforts are directed together towards a common purpose and set into motion through the thousand-fold ties of human relationships.<sup>47</sup>

Eylert marveled at the many societies and civic associations being established in German-speaking Europe. He noted how some were dedicated to supporting ‘the arts and sciences’, while others existed to advance the economic ‘worldly interests’ of their members, and still others for entertainment and amusement, ‘for the enjoyment of sensual pleasures.’<sup>48</sup> In light of such developments, Eylert regarded it as particularly fitting that ‘in our day, when there is such great confusion on important religious matters and a cacophony of suggestions as to how to improve them, that those who stand on the never wavering ground of positive and historic Christianity’, were forming new religious societies, whose purpose was to alleviate the ‘famine, not of food, but of hearing the words of the Lord.’<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Erich Beyreuther, ‘Rulemann Friedrich Eylert’, *NDB*, IV (1959), p. 709-10.

<sup>47</sup> Rulemann Friedrich Eylert, *Über Bibelgesellschaften und die Vereinigung der Völker, durch das Band des Christenthums* (Berlin: August Rücker, 1819), pp. 1-2.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. v.

Twenty-one years later, Franz Josef Mone, who had been a professor of history at Heidelberg University before becoming editor of a newspaper in Karlsruhe, published an article in the 1840 edition of the Stuttgart *German Quarterly*, entitled ‘Concerning German Civic Societies and Associations.’ Here, Mone too expressed his amazement regarding the variety of the new societies and the extent of their transformation of the social landscape.<sup>50</sup> ‘The very essence of our political and societal circumstances has changed in the last fifty years... In the twenty-five years of peace following the time of our catastrophe [i.e. the French annexation and occupation of German territory during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars] the changes to our political system and the life of our nation have become more and more apparent.’<sup>51</sup>

Mone reiterated the observations that Eylert had made in 1819 and noted how the impulse to form societies permeated every sphere of public life. New associations had been formed for the mutual interests of farmers, merchants, manufacturers, the members of the trades, and of the professions. Cooperative societies had been organised to provide banking services (*Sparanstalten*), insurance services (*Versicherungsanstalten*), and private pensions (*Rentenanstalten*). Academic societies had been established for the study of the arts and sciences and cultural societies set up to patronize music and literature. Mone further observed that ‘the Bible and missionary societies’ had been created by those ‘Pietists’, who ‘strive for the positive teachings of the old Lutheran religion and fight against rationalism in the churches’ worship and in its doctrine.’<sup>52</sup>

The pastor Karl Friedrich Nanz noted in an 1841 study of the history of pietism in Württemberg how ‘Bible, missionary, and tract societies’ flourished in the kingdom because their aims were readily embraced by those Protestants there who continued to be shaped by the legacy of seventeenth and eighteenth century pietism.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, in 1847 the rector of the University of Berlin and a professor of theology there, Karl Immanuel Nitzsch, portrayed the new religious societies as the latest instance of ‘communities

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<sup>50</sup> Franz Mone, ‘Ueber das deutsche Vereinswesen’, *DVS*, 3 (1840), pp. 287-333.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 323-24.

<sup>53</sup> Karl Friedrich Nanz, *Der Pietismus in Württemberg: Eine historische Skizze* (Stuttgart: C.F. Etzel, 1841), p. 49.

within the community of the Church.’ Nitzsch pointed out that such communities had existed within German Protestantism since ‘Spener introduced the *collegia pietatis*’ in the seventeenth century, while ecclesial sub-communities had existed within the history of the Christian Church ‘since the first Cenobitic monasteries’ appeared in Egypt in the fourth century.<sup>54</sup> Nitzsch argued that historically it had often been through such ‘particularisations of the Church (*Besonderungen der Kirche*)’, in which small groups of individuals came together to pursue ‘the Kingdom of God’, that entire churches had been reinvigorated.<sup>55</sup>

Conversely, Friedrich Weidemann, a commissioner in the Prussian ministry of justice, vigorously denounced the new societies in his 1830 pamphlet, *The Pietists as Revolutionaries against the State and the Church: An Ecclesiastical-Political-Philosophical Hypothesis*. Weidemann condemned the leaders of the missionary and tract societies for being ‘adherents of the so-called revealed faith (*Offenbarungsglauben*), who address their polemics against rationalism and the authorities of the Protestant Churches.’<sup>56</sup> Indeed, he asserted that because of their opposition to rationalist theology, awakened Protestants could not rightly be called ‘*protestantisch*’ but rather ought to be denoted as ‘*evangelisch*’, or ‘*neo-protestantisch*’, terms which he believed conveyed their crypto-Catholicism.<sup>57</sup> ‘Their tracts smack of Catholic doctrines, and often contain nonsense about the comfort that comes through the poured out blood of Jesus Christ.’<sup>58</sup> Weidemann accused the leaders of missionary and tract societies of being ‘secret agents of the court of Rome’, whom the ‘Pope and the Curia’ were now employing in a stealthy attempt to corrupt and destroy Protestantism from within ‘by carrying us back to the darkness of the thirteenth-century and away from the hard-won academic freedom and rationality that we have attained in the nineteenth-century’.<sup>59</sup> In light of such accusations, it is worth noting Pope Pius VII’s papal letter of 18 June 1816

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<sup>54</sup> Carl Immanuel Nitzsch, *Praktische Theologie*, I (Bonn: Adolph Marens, 1847), p. 195.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>56</sup> Friedrich Weidemann, *Die Pietisten als Revolutionaire gegen Staat und Kirche: Eine kirchlich-politisch-philosophische Hypothese* (Halle: Helmuth’schen Buchhandlung, 1830), p. 9.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

to Ignacy Raczyński, the metropolitan Archbishop of Poland, whose seat in Gniezno had been annexed by Prussia in 1793 in the Second Partition of Poland. Here, the pope instructed Raczyński that no Catholic was to have any further involvement with the ‘pestilential Bible Societies’ as the lay reading of the Bible in the vernacular which they promoted had been condemned by the Council of Trent. Pius VII warned that the Bible societies ‘threaten the foundational pillars of religion.’<sup>60</sup> In an anonymous 1845 pamphlet, *The Dark Side of the Missionary and Bible Societies, From a Friend of God and of the Truth*, another Protestant rationalist critic described the societies as an unwelcome modern religious innovation. ‘The missionary and Bible societies are today in the religious sphere of life what steam power and railroads are in the economic and commercial. They say that new life and salvation will be poured out into the hearts and souls of millions through the former, just as the later will bring mankind an undreamed of level of economic prosperity. There are those of us who rather doubt them both.’<sup>61</sup>

It was not only rationalist Protestants who raised ecclesiological concerns about the place of new religious societies within German Protestant life and their relationship to the churches. In 1842 the Göttingen University professor of theology Friedrich Lücke gave an address to the Göttingen Missionary Society in which he introduced a new term into Protestant religious discourse: ‘*die innere Mission der Evangelischen Kirche*.’<sup>62</sup> Lücke’s thesis was that just as it was the *äußere Mission* (outward mission) of the Church ‘to send the Gospel outwards, and spread Christian truth and Christian life among non-Christians’, the Church also had an *innere Mission* (inward mission) to do the same among existing members of the Church.<sup>63</sup>

To illustrate what he meant about the need for the ‘*der innere Bau der Kirche* (the building up of the Church from within)’ Lücke cited the example of the eighteenth-

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<sup>60</sup> ‘Päbstliche Bulle gegen die Bibelgesellschaften in Polen’, *Sophronizon*, 1 (1819), pp. 235–42 (p. 237).

<sup>61</sup> Anonymous, *Die Schattenseiten der Mission und der Bibelverbreitung. Von einem Freunde Gottes und der Wahrheit*, (Konstanz: Belle-Vue bei Konstanz, 1845), p. 3.

<sup>62</sup> Friedrich Lücke, *Die zwiefache innere und äußere Mission der Evangelischen Kirche, ihrer gleiche Nothwendigkeit und nothwendige Verbindung; eine Rede in der Missions-Versammlung zu Göttingen den 13. Nov. 1842* (Hamburg: Perthes-Besser, 1843). On Lücke as the originator of the term ‘innere Mission’, see Friedrich Oldenberg, ‘Innere Mission’, *RE*, X (1882), pp. 18–30 (p. 19).

<sup>63</sup> Friedrich Lücke, *Die zwiefache innere und äußere Mission*, p. 7.



century Methodist movement within the Church of England. 'Methodism was a necessary response, an intense effervescence and outcry of Christian spirit against the rigid, formalistic ecclesiasticism (*Kirchentum*) of the episcopal church of England. The inner mission in England was born, as it were, with the calls of vivifying preaching to a people who had been left to fall into spiritual ruin amidst the opulence and formalism of the half-dead church of the benefice-holders.'<sup>64</sup>

Lücke admired early Methodism principally for what he considered its healthy ecclesiology. That is, Lücke looked on English Methodism as a model for nineteenth-century Protestant revival in Germany because of how, along with its efforts to strengthen the personal faith of individuals, Methodism was also an ecclesiastical renewal movement for the established Church of England. He noted that John Wesley had eschewed all forms of ecclesiastical schism. Indeed, according to Lücke, it was only after the Methodists formally left the Church of England that they had 'fallen away from the truths of the Reformation'.<sup>65</sup>

In sharp contrast to how Blumhardt and Elsner, the editors of the *Latest News of the Protestant Missionary and Bible Societies* and the *Latest News from the Kingdom of God*, had maintained that the new religious societies were doing the work of the Church, Lücke averred that it was rather the sole privilege of particular local church congregations to undertake the mission of the Church. In what is likely a veiled critique of the nineteenth-century religious voluntarism of Anglophone evangelicals in Britain and America, he warned his audience to beware of the many examples of 'foreign linguistic and conceptual confusion' regarding the nature of the 'mission of the Church', as if it could be taken up at will by any group of Christians who had decided to band together to pursue some religious goal.<sup>66</sup> 'The true and wholesome, inward and outward missions of the Protestant Church are only able to proceed forth from the rightly ordered preaching ministry of the Church (*Predigtamte*), that has itself been inwardly vivified through faith and scholarship (*Glaube und Wissenschaft*).'<sup>67</sup> However, Lücke was not

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

entirely opposed to the religious societies. He welcomed the Bible, missionary, and religious tract societies as wholesome ‘organic’ developments within a modern Christian society. Among their historical antecedents he identified the medieval European monastic orders, the fourteenth-century English Lollards, and the fifteenth-century Dutch Brethren of the Common Life.<sup>68</sup>

However, Lücke was adamantly opposed to how he saw religious societies improperly appropriating to themselves the evangelistic prerogatives of the churches and diminishing the uniqueness of churches as the only divinely instituted form of corporate Christian life. In 1845, in a two-part article on the subject of ‘Voluntary Associations’ that he published in a new journal that he co-founded that year, *The Quarterly Journal for Theology and the Church*, Lücke asserted that this was plainly what had happened in England and America, where the ‘demonic’ and ‘Promethean fire’ of voluntary religious societies burned out of control.<sup>69</sup> He mused that ‘it is hard to say if in recent years voluntary societies have not more, and more deeply, stirred the Church than they have the State’.<sup>70</sup> Religious societies could assist individual churches in the mission of the Church, but they should not act independently of the churches. Moreover, when they stood in their proper complementary relationship to ‘the positive Christian State’ and the ‘positive Christian Church’, Lücke maintained that the religious societies helped to bolster Christian society, which was being assailed in Germany by the socially disintegratory forces of ‘socialism and communism’.<sup>71</sup>

Heinrich Heine, on the other hand, praised the religious societies, including those coming from outside. In his *Confessions* of 1854, Heine remarked that the ‘pious gentleman of the British and Foreign Bible Society... promote a great kind of democracy, in which every person is not merely, their own king, but their own bishop.’<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Friedrich Lücke, ‘Die freien Vereine: Ein nothwendiges Capitel in der theologischen Moral. Zweiter, systematischer Artikel’, *VJThK*, 2 (1846), pp. 1-33 (p. 3-6, pp. 28-29).

<sup>69</sup> Friedrich Lücke, ‘Die freien Vereine: Ein nothwendiges Capitel in der theologischen Moral. Erster, historischer und litterarischer Artikel’, *VJThK*, 1 (1845), pp. 1-25 (p. 14).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> Friedrich Lücke, ‘Die freien Vereine: Ein nothwendiges Capitel in der theologischen Moral. Erster, historischer und litterarischer Artikel’, *VJThK*, 1 (1845), p. 20-21.

<sup>72</sup> Heinrich Heine, ‘Geständnisse, Geschrieben im Winter 1854’, in *Heinrich Heine’s Sämmtliche Werke*, V (Philadelphia: John Weik: 1860), pp. 75-120 (p. 108).

As individuals read and interpreted the Bible for themselves, Heine predicted that there would come ‘the downfall of all of the Protestant sects’, which would surely be followed by ‘the great kingdom of the spirit, the kingdom of religious feeling, of the love of one’s neighbor, of purity, and of the true morality’. Heine declared, that these ‘cannot be taught through dogmatic formulations, but rather through the pictures and examples...of the Bible, that beautiful, holy book of guidance that has been given for small children and big children alike’.<sup>73</sup>

One awakened Protestant leader who shared many of Lücke’s opinions pertaining to religious societies and churches was Johann Hinrich Wichern, the Hamburg pastor who is most associated with the *Innere Mission*. In the 1849 book in which he called on the Protestant churches of Germany to ‘transform the evil day of the outbreak of the Revolution into the birthday of the *Innere Mission*’, Wichern stressed that, ‘for us, it is the Church alone that is the origin of the life of the *Innere Mission* and of all of its designs. What does not go out from her, does not go back to her; it is only in her that the Lord is present by his Word and Spirit, with his gifts and laws. She is his body.’<sup>74</sup>

Wichern reflected how ‘ever since the end of the Wars of Liberation [1815], in Germany there has been a growing preaching of the gospel in our Church, such that in the power of faith, many have been moved to show love towards the most neglected and forlorn members of our community.’<sup>75</sup> Wichern went on to describe how Protestants had created ‘numerous associations, societies, and institutions, through which, by the awakened gifts and graces (*erweckte Gaben und Charismen*) of the Spirit of God, many have eagerly taken up positions of service because of the love that they have felt towards such people’.<sup>76</sup> Now at this time, Wichern urged the ‘*Verkirchlichung*’ of such extra-ecclesiastical Protestant organisations.<sup>77</sup> That is, he exhorted the leaders of the churches to recognise that the new religious societies and institutions had been brought about by

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>74</sup> Johann Hinrich Wichern, *Die innere Mission der deutschen evangelischen Kirche* (Hamburg: Rauhes Haus, 1849), p. 196, p. 200.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 198.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., pp. 212-16.

the ‘providence of God and that, in their essence, they belong to the Church. Therefore, there must not necessarily be any conflict between them and the churches.’<sup>78</sup> Wichern recommended that the societies do more to orient their activities towards the churches, and to integrate themselves into the lives of individual church congregations.<sup>79</sup> When the churches and the societies so cooperated, ‘a new future will then be opened up for the one Church to which they both belong.’<sup>80</sup>

Several important themes emerge from this examination of the extra-ecclesial religious societies within early nineteenth-century German Protestantism. These societies were a religious example of the *Verbürgerlichung* of German society as a whole, within which awakened Protestants exercised the civil liberties that had been introduced in the course of the Enlightenment. Many observers of the societies saw in them both something new and something old. They were widely described as ‘Pietistic’. Yet at the same time, the societies were regarded as a uniquely modern development in the life of the Church, one that was akin to the contemporary formation of voluntary associations in many different areas of public life. The remainder of this chapter turns to consider the main types of evangelistic societies that awakened Protestants founded. After considering how these new religious voluntary associations came into being, we will conclude with an analysis of the particular ways in which they rationalised the evangelism of the awakened Protestants.

#### **5.4 The British impetus behind the establishment of evangelistic societies in Germany**

In setting up their new religious societies awakened German Protestants were influenced and aided by British evangelicals. As the University of Berlin professor of church history August Neander reflected in his 1817 address to the third annual general meeting of the Central Prussian Bible Society:

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 213.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 211.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 213.

Just as Britain, by virtue of its natural place in the world as a seafaring nation, seems to be destined to unite the peoples from the furthest parts of the world with one another and to make the most different gifts of nature commonly available to all of the inhabitants of the earth, so does it also seem that Britain has received the infinitely higher providential calling of spreading the greatest gift of heaven to all peoples: the world-transformative word of God.<sup>81</sup>

Neander went on to compare the British and Foreign Bible Society's assistance in the establishment of Bible societies in Berlin and many other German cities to the early eighth-century mission of the English Saint Boniface (*'der heilige Bonifacius aus Devonshire'*), the 'Apostle to the Germans'..<sup>82</sup> Neander declared that 'the establishment of the Bible societies constitutes a new and important moment in the history of the Church', one in which 'a free association of men from all peoples and classes in Christendom have come together to denounce the perverse spirit of our age and publically confess that it is only through the word of God that salvation is able to come to mankind'.<sup>83</sup>

The new type of Protestant voluntary religious society that Neander celebrated in his 1817 address had been originally introduced into Germany some twenty years earlier, following the founding of the London Missionary Society in 1795. Hereafter, British and German Protestants who shared a common interest in sending out missionaries to the 'heathen world' began to work together. Subsequently, members of this network collaborated in related religious initiatives, distributing religious tracts and Bibles and sending missionaries to Jewish communities.

Previously in 1793, a group of 24 dissenting Protestant ministers and Anglican priests joined together in London to begin publishing *The Evangelical Magazine*. In explaining their reasons for this collaboration, the editors observed how periodicals had obtained a 'high degree of importance in the republic of letters', and that therefore, it would be 'criminal supineness, or total indifference to the best interests of society, if the

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<sup>81</sup> August Neander, 'Züge aus dem Leben der ersten christlichen Kirche, mit einigen Vor- und Schlußworten', in *Kleine Gelegenheitsschriften praktisch-christlichen vornhemlich exegetischen und historischen Inhalts* (Berlin: Samuel Elsner, 1829), pp. 178-98 (p. 178).

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 182.

servants of Christ were to neglect the use of those means which circumstances have rendered favorable for the propagation of evangelical sentiments'.<sup>84</sup> The September 1794 edition of the *Evangelical Magazine* furnished the platform for the anonymously issued appeal 'from an evangelical dissenter' that led to the formation of the London Missionary Society (LMS) one year later.<sup>85</sup> Support for this society came from throughout England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland and the ecumenical spirit at the week-long founding conference was such that one participant was moved to describe it as 'a new Pentecost'.<sup>86</sup> Another remarked that the gathering of 200 LMS supporters was, 'the funeral of bigotry', in that what had made the conference so 'unspeakably delightful was the visible union of ministers and Christians of all denominations; who for the first time, forgetting their party prejudices and partialities, assembled in the same place, sang the same hymns, united in the same prayers, and felt themselves one in Christ'.<sup>87</sup>

The first German Protestant to respond to this news was the Saxon baron, member of the Moravian Brethren, and member of the German Christianity Society, August Carl Friedrich Freiherr von Schirnding.<sup>88</sup> In early 1796, Schirnding wrote a letter, in English, to the LMS's board of directors to express his support for their plans, as well as a letter written in German to King George III.<sup>89</sup>

Occupied with my reflections on how Christians, professing to be redeemed by Christ's blood, chosen as his peculiar people, sought out and saved by his sufferings and death, can live so careless and unmindful of the multitudes of poor heathens, buried in oblivion, lying in darkness, and in the depths of spiritual misery, one brought me the Hamburg Gazette, wherein was contained the remarkable and delightful intelligence that more than two hundred preachers of the Gospel in England, deputed from their several congregations, have established a Society for sending the word of God, and therewith the light and salvation which Jesus Christ hath brought into the world, to the heathen, especially to the East Indies, Africa, and the vast countries in the South Seas. It is not in my power to express the delight I felt when I first heard these pleasant

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<sup>84</sup> 'Preface', *EM*, 1 (1793), pp. 1-5 (pp. 1-2).

<sup>85</sup> 'Address to Evangelical Dissenters', *EM*, 2 (1794), pp. 378-80.

<sup>86</sup> 'Missionary Society', *EM*, 3 (1795), pp. 421-25 (p. 425).

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 425.

<sup>88</sup> Peter Vogt, 'Die Mission der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine und ihre Bedeutung für den Neubeginn der protestantische Missionen am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts', *PuN*, 35 (2009), pp. 204-36 (p. 232).

<sup>89</sup> August von Schirnding, 'Baron von Schirnding's Letter', *EM*, 4 (1796), pp. 309-11.

tidings. I could not but imagine myself present in your noble assembly... This is our duty, that as brethren, acknowledging one God, one faith, one baptism, one Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour, we assist each other and unite to aid, and counsel, so as to obtain most effectually the objective we have in view. It is in order hereunto that I take the liberty of entreating you to communicate the plan you are pursuing, which would be of the greatest service to me.<sup>90</sup>

Schirnding's letter was published in 1796 in *The Evangelical Magazine*. In 1798, it was republished in New Hampshire as part of a series of 'circular letters to the ministers and churches of every Christian denomination', which were designed to promote 'the revival of religion and the advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth.'<sup>91</sup> The LMS responded positively towards his overtures. It appointed Schirnding a member of its board of directors in 1798 and in their annual report for 1799 they spoke highly favourably of their new German partner. 'We have to rejoice in the zealous efforts of our co-director, the honored Baron Van Skirnding [sic], who labors so abundantly to spread the Gospel in Germany, by the same methods we have adopted at home... None are known to be men of more patient perseverance and excellent spirit, than our German brethren; and those trained to self-denial and activity under the baron's eye, are likely to prove as able and useful missionaries as our own.'<sup>92</sup>

A second significant publication of the LMS in Germany came about through Peter Mortimer, an English-born member of the Moravians who was then living in Saxony.<sup>93</sup> After obtaining a copy of the LMS's publication that described its founding and included the sermons that were preached on this occasion, Mortimer informed those in attendance at the forty-second annual Herrnhut Preachers' Conference (*Predigerkonferenz*) in 1796 of these recent developments in Great Britain.<sup>94</sup> The

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 310.

<sup>91</sup> *Circular Letters, Containing, an Invitation to the Ministers and Churches of every Christian Denomination in the United States, to unite in their Endeavours to carry into Execution the 'Humble Attempt' of President Edwards, to promote explicit agreement and visible Union of God's People, in Extraordinary Prayer, for the revival of religion and advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth* (Concord, New Hampshire: N.H. Hough, 1798), pp. 24-32.

<sup>92</sup> London Missionary Society, *Four sermons preached at the fifth general meeting of the Missionary Society, to which are added, the report of the directors, the proceedings of the meeting and a list of the subscribers* (London, 1799), pp. xiv-xv.

<sup>93</sup> Nola Reed Knouse, ed. *The Music of the Moravian Church in America* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), p. 279.

<sup>94</sup> Hellmut Reichel, 'Die Anfänge der Herrnhuter Predigerkonferenz', *UF*, 17 (1985), pp. 7-56 (p. 12).

proceedings of this gathering that had been begun by Zinzendorf were widely read by sympathetic Protestants in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Estonia, Hungary, and Romania.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, in 1797 Mortimer published a complete German translation of the Society's initial publication.<sup>96</sup> A copy of this was then read by members of the leadership of the German Christianity Society in Basel, who latterly decided to introduce themselves to their counterparts in the LMS and express their interest in becoming involved in their work.<sup>97</sup> In their letter of 7 February 1798, the Christianity Society's directors informed the LMS how their society consisted of 'several thousand members and affectionate friends' in over one hundred cities and towns, most of which were in Germany or Switzerland, as well as several in Denmark, France, the Netherlands, and Sweden, and noted that agents of the society were at work translating and distributing its literature in Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and the United States.<sup>98</sup> They furthermore mentioned how it had been the boldness of the London Missionary Society's plans to send evangelists to areas of the world where Christianity was not practiced that had especially attracted their attention.<sup>99</sup>

Following their receipt of the Christianity Society directors' letter, the directors of the London Missionary Society engaged Johann Gottlieb Burkhardt to translate their message into English and then translate their reply into German. As the minister of a German Lutheran congregation in the Savoy district of London and himself a member of the German Christianity Society, Burkhardt was a natural bridge between these two groups of generally likeminded British and German Protestants. He believed strongly in strengthening a sense of affinity between Protestants on both sides of the North Sea and

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<sup>95</sup> 'Missionary Communications from Germany and America', *EM*, 4 (1796), pp. 544-45 (pp. 543-45).

<sup>96</sup> Peter Mortimer, *Die Missions-Societät in England: Geschichte ihres Ursprungs und ihrer ersten Unternehmungen* (Barby, 1797).

<sup>97</sup> K. F. A. Steinkopf, 'Der Engere Ausschuß der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung christlicher Wahrheit und Gottseligkeit an die Direktoren der englischen Missions-Gesellschaft', in *Die Christentumsgesellschaft in der Zeit der Aufklärung und der beginnenden Erweckung*, ed. by Ernst Stähelin (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Verlag, 1970), pp. 405-09.

<sup>98</sup> 'Account of the Basil Missionary Society', *MM*, 7 (1802), pp. 295-99; Steinkopf, 'Der Engere Ausschuß der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung christlicher Wahrheit und Gottseligkeit an die Direktoren der englischen Missions-Gesellschaft', pp. 407-08.

<sup>99</sup> 'An Introductory Memorial Respecting the Formation of the Missionary Society', in *Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society, September 22, 23, 24, 1795* (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. iv.



to this end he had written the first original German-language history of Methodism in 1795.<sup>100</sup> In the introduction that he penned to the published version of his German translation of the *Open Letter from the Directors of the New Mission Society in Great Britain to their Brothers in Germany* (*Sendschreiben der Directoren der neuen Mißions-Gesellschaft in Großbritannien an ihre Brüder in Deutschland*) Burkhardt expressed his hopes that German Protestants would become eager to emulate the example of the members of the LMS in founding their own missionary societies such that they would then be able to collaborate with the British in an even broader spirit of ecumenicity.<sup>101</sup>

In the remarkable times in which we live, the fierce struggle between faith and unbelief, between the light and the darkness has become quite visible...The closer association of like-minded, good souls with each other gives a significant advantage to the cause of Christianity in our time. There are certainly many thousands of children of God living scattered throughout all countries, who are animated by the one same Spirit, but who lack a communal bond to outwardly link each other together. When unbelief is able to shake the world through the strength of its combined powers and the attempts to oppose it often fail merely because they lack a unified plan, should we not then expect something great to be accomplished when many forces for good are united together? Now then, let us set aside all of our secondary differences and proceed forth only on the basis of the essentials of Christianity. Let us extend the kingdom of the truth through the only weapons that it has and allows: truth and love. Let us spread the pure doctrine of Jesus Christ and his Apostles and true godliness among ourselves and everywhere. Just such a band of brothers from different religious parties was one of the first, beautiful fruits of the missionary society in London...Oh my brothers in Germany, imitate this beautiful example!...The same Spirit who at the end of the last century empowered Spener, Francke, and other worthy men to awaken true Christianity in Germany and to bring about the conversion of the heathens in India has surely not yet disappeared from Germany. It is for the sake of the kingdom of Jesus that the English missionary society wishes to make a brotherly bond with Germany.<sup>102</sup>

Following the initial exchange of correspondence between the executive committees of the London Missionary Society and the Christianity Society that Burkhardt facilitated

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<sup>100</sup> Johann Gottlieb Burkhard, *Vollständige Geschichte der Methodisten in England, aus glaubwürdigen Quellen. Nebst den Lebensbeschreibungen ihren beyden Stifter, des Herrn Johann Wesley und George Whitefield* (Nürnberg: Verlag der Raw'schen Buchhandlung, 1795).

<sup>101</sup> Johann Gottlieb Burckhardt, *Sendschreiben der Directoren der neuen Mißions-Gesellschaft in Großbritannien an ihre Brüder in Deutschland* (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1798).

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., pp. iv-ix.

between February and November 1798, the Christianity Society began to solicit its members regularly for financial contributions to support the work of the LMS, whose own reports from 1799 gratefully acknowledged the sums of money that it had received from Basel, Zürich, and Frankfurt.<sup>103</sup> From 1798 onwards, the director of the Christianity Society was also always made a co-director of the LMS.

After reading the published version of the open letter that Burkhardt enabled the LMS to disseminate throughout Germany, members of the East Friesland branch of the German Christianity Society established the first German missionary society in 1798, which its founder, Georg Siegmund Stracke, named the ‘Mission Society of the Mustard Seed (*Missions-Sozietät vom Senfkorn*)’, in an allusion to the parable that Jesus tells in Matthew 13.<sup>104</sup> Burkhardt’s translation of the LMS’s letter was also read in Elberfeld, a small town outside of Düsseldorf, where on the Monday after Pentecost a group of ten men, who belonged to the German Christianity Society, met in the home of Johann Ball, a leather merchant, and founded the second missionary society in Germany on 3 June 1799.<sup>105</sup> One later nineteenth-century account of their meetings reports how the Elberfeld group regularly met at eight o’clock in the evening on the first Monday of the month to read letters and missionary news ‘from their friends in England, Holland, East Friesland, Frankfurt, and Basel’, and then pray about the matters that were raised in this correspondence. After receiving the news in late-1799 of how the LMS’s missionary ship, the *Duff*, had been captured by French pirates in route to Tahiti and summarily sold in Uruguay, the small circle of missionary supporters in Elberfeld began to send financial contributions to London to assist the LMS in acquiring a replacement vessel.<sup>106</sup> The following year, the Elberfeld Missionary Society began to publish German translations of the sermons that were preached at the annual meeting of the London

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<sup>103</sup> ‘The Report of the Directors to the Members of the Missionary Society’, in *Four Sermons Preached at the Fifth General Meeting of the Missionary Society, May 8, 9, 10, 1799* (London, 1799), p. xiv.

<sup>104</sup> Werner Raupp, *Mission in Quellentexten: Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Mission von der Reformation bis zur Weltmissionkonferenz Edinburgh 1910* (Erlangen: Verlag der Evangelische-Lutherische Mission, 1990), p. 238.

<sup>105</sup> Gustav Menzel, *Aus 150 Jahre Missionsgeschichte: Die Rheinische Mission* (Wuppertal: Verlag der Vereinigten Evangelischen Mission, 1978), p. 18.

<sup>106</sup> Ludwig von Rohden, *Geschichte der Rheinischen Missions-Gesellschaft*, (Barmen: J. F. Steinhaus, 1871), pp. 2-3.

Missionary Society as well as the correspondence of the missionaries whom it sponsored. Missionary news of this kind appeared in the *Nachrichten von der Ausbreitung des Reichs Jesus, überhaupt und durch die Missionarien unter den Heiden insbesondere* (*News of the Expansion of the Kingdom of Jesus, in general, and especially through the Missionaries to the Heathen*) from 1800 until 1816.

That same year, the first Protestant missionary training seminary in the world began classes in Berlin on 1 February 1800. It operated under the instructional leadership of the ethnically Czech minister of the Moravian Brethren and member of the German Christianity Society, Johann Jänicke, and received its financial support from Schirnding.<sup>107</sup> When Schirnding experienced an unexpected series of reversals in his personal fortunes in November 1800 that scuttled his ambitious plans to establish missionary stations in present-day Hawaii and British Columbia, the London Missionary Society, Rotterdam Missionary Society, and German Christianity Society intervened to supply funds so that his institute might be able to continue to remain open.<sup>108</sup>

One of the seven students in the inaugural class of Jänicke's missionary training seminary was Joseph Samuel, who had been born the son of a rabbi in Franconia in northeastern Bavaria in 1771.<sup>109</sup> Several years after he had become a religious tutor (*Bachar*) and then the cantor (*Chasan*) and kosher butcher (*Shochat*) of a synagogue in Hesse-Kassel in 1793, Samuel heard a Christian interpretation of Jeremiah 31:31-34 and gradually became persuaded that Jesus was the Messiah. He sought and received baptism in a Lutheran church in the town of Neubrandenburg in Mecklenburg on 8 May 1798, taking on the additional names Christian Friedrich Frei. He joined a local circle of the Christianity Society and latterly moved to Berlin to attend Jänicke's missionary training school.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Oehler, *Frühzeit und Blüte*, pp. 115-16.

<sup>108</sup> J. Orin Oliphant, 'A Project for Christian Mission on the Northwest Coast of America, 1798', *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 36 (1945), pp. 99-114 (p. 107); Oehler, *Frühzeit und Blüte*, p. 116; Karl Friedrich Ledderhose, *Johann Jänicke, der evangelisch-lutherische Prediger an der böhmischen- oder Bethlehem-Kirche zu Berlin, nach seinem Leben und Wirken dargestellt* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 105-06.

<sup>109</sup> 'Kurze Nachricht aus dem Leben des getauften Juden-Predigers Frey in London', *SLchWG*, 22 (1807), pp. 164-71 (p. 164).

<sup>110</sup> Joseph Samuel Christian Friedrich Frey, *Narrative of the Rev. Joseph Samuel C.F. Frey* (Boston: Lincoln and Edmunds, 1832), pp. 20-36.

After Frei had studied under him for 17 months, Jänicke recommended Frei to the London Missionary Society in response to their request for an assistant to work with Johannes van der Kemp, the Dutch missionary to the indigenous African people living near the Cape of Good Hope whom they supported.<sup>111</sup> However, while Frei was in London awaiting his departure, he claimed that he had had a dream in which he began to preach about Jesus to the members of the Jewish community in London and that many who heard him believed his message. After informing the leadership of the London Missionary Society of his dream, they agreed to financially support his undertaking of such a ministry in the British capital instead of going to southern Africa.<sup>112</sup> Eight years later, Frei separated from the London Missionary Society and founded the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews in 1809, which became a model for such societies for Jewish evangelism in Germany.<sup>113</sup> On 1 February 1822, the Church of England priest and supporter of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews, Lewis Way travelled to Berlin, where with the British ambassador to Prussia, Sir George Rose, they partnered with August Tholuck, then a lecturer at the University of Berlin, and Samuel Elsner, the editor of the *Latest News of the Kingdom of God*, secretary of the Central Prussian Bible Society, and secretary of the Central Association for Christian Devotional Literature in the Prussian States, in founding the Berlin Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews. To this society King Friedrich Wilhelm III pledged an annual contribution and granted a special license to use the Prussian postal service without cost.<sup>114</sup> As one German Protestant minister from Bavaria commented in 1846, ‘the successful example of the mission activity among the Jews in England, together with the awakening of a new Christian life in Germany,

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>112</sup> H. H. Norris, *The Origin, Progress, and Existing Circumstances of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews* (London: W. Wetton, 1825), pp. 5-20.

<sup>113</sup> Benedict Stefan Steger, *Die evangelische Juden-Mission in ihrer Wichtigkeit und ihrem gesegneten Fortgange* (Hof: Gottfried Adolph Grau, 1847), p. 16.

<sup>114</sup> Peter Maser, ‘Der Freund Israels: F.A.G. Tholuck und die Judenmission des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts’, *JSKG*, 59 (1980), pp. 108-61 (p. 115).

excited a holy zeal, which desired not only to proclaim the gospel to the heathen but also to see conversions of Jews.’<sup>115</sup>

The nascent network between British evangelicals and awakened German Protestants converged more fully in 1801 when, following Burkhardt’s death, Karl Friedrich Adolf Steinkopf, accepted a call to succeed him in his London pastorate. Steinkopf had been born in Ludwigsburg, a village northeast of Stuttgart in 1778 and like most ministers in Württemberg, he went to study theology at Tübingen University. As a resident of the university’s theological college, the *Evangelisches Stift*, Steinkopf was a contemporary student there with the future philosophers Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling. After his graduation, Steinkopf worked as the secretary of the Christianity Society in Basel from 1795 to 1801, while awaiting an opening for parish ministry.<sup>116</sup>

Throughout the ensuing 59 years, Steinkopf ministered to the German congregation in St. Mary’s Church in the Savoy, 1801-59, preaching regularly up until the week that he died. He also made important leadership contributions to the broader evangelical movement in Britain. The ability of British evangelicals to communicate and cooperate with awakened German Protestants depended largely upon Steinkopf’s extensive contacts. Several years after moving to London and settling in his new parish, Steinkopf reassumed secretarial duties, serving as foreign secretary to the British and Foreign Bible Society from 1804 until 1826 and as foreign secretary to the Religious Tract Society from 1808 to 1819. Upon his death, the president of Evangelical Alliance, Sir Culling Eardley, eulogized Steinkopf as, ‘a Lutheran clergymen, who loved all who love the Lord Jesus and seek to promote His glorious kingdom...[who] was the instrument of diffusing over the Continent of Europe, perhaps more widely than any other individual, a more correct knowledge of the Christianity of England’.<sup>117</sup>

In a letter that he wrote in late 1798 on behalf of the directors of the German Christianity Society to the directors of the London Missionary Society, Steinkopf

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>116</sup> Karl Rennstich, ‘Karl Friedrich Adolf Steinkopf’, *BBKL*, X (1995), 1306-09.

<sup>117</sup> ‘Death of the Rev. Dr. Steinkopff’, *The Standard*, 30 May 1859, p. 6; ‘Meetings and Transactions’, *EC*, 13 (1859), pp. 219-21 (p. 219).

painted an overall dismal picture of the contemporary state of Christianity on the Continent. Yet he remained hopeful regarding the potential amelioration of Europe's spiritual condition.

Darkness may overspread many places, and the strong delusion of the anti-Christ (2 Thessalonians 2:15) has already, by the judgment of God, begun to operate; it is even possible, that the candlestick of the gospel may be taken from its place in what has been called hitherto Christian Europe, if the great apostasy increases, and the Son of God is, as it were, crucified again and trampled upon; but yet, in the midst of Egyptian darkness, there will remain a small country of Goshen, and perhaps before we are aware of it, the word of the Lord may go forth to his long infatuated people: 'Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.' Till that happy time comes, may the Lord make us joyful in hope, patient under tribulations, and fervent in prayer!<sup>118</sup>

Steinkopf believed that the distribution of religious tracts and booklets could aid in bringing about the kind of religious awakening that he desired to see in Germany. Influenced by the Religious Tract Society in London, Steinkopf helped organise the first German religious tract society in Basel in 1802 and then in several other German cities during his tenure as the society's foreign secretary.

Independently of Steinkopf, the Westphalian baroness Anna Katharina Wilhelmine von Oeynhausen, who lived latterly in Helmsdorf in Thuringia, was another awakened German Protestant who believed in distributing evangelistic and didactic religious literature to those who had a basic level of literacy.<sup>119</sup> Orphaned as a young child and then widowed at age 32 in 1796, Oeynhausen's own piety had been formed in her adversities through diligent reading of the Bible and the writings of August Hermann Francke, who famously founded an orphanage and school for poor children in Halle in 1703. She followed his example by doing the same in 1805.<sup>120</sup>

Beyond the physical needs of the poor, Oeynhausen was also concerned for their spiritual well-being, because of how, in her estimation, 'the preaching of the Word of

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<sup>118</sup> K. F. A. Steinkopf, 'Foreign Correspondence', *MM*, 4 (1799), pp. 97-101 (p. 99).

<sup>119</sup> Johann Hinrich Wichern, 'Volksschriftenvereine, Colportage, etc.', *FBRH*, 19 (1862), pp. 20-23 (p. 21).

<sup>120</sup> Wilhelmine von Oeynhausen, *Geschichte einer neuen Schulanstalt nebst der Veranlassung: In Briefen von W. an ihre Freundin Louise, zum Vortheil der Stiftung herausgegeben* (Bielefeld: Joh. Hermann Adolph Küster, 1805).

God has disappeared from our pulpits.’<sup>121</sup> In a letter of 8 November 1810 to Christian Friedrich Spittler, Steinkopf’s successor in Basel as the secretary of the Christianity Society, Oeynhausens lamented, ‘the great downfall of religion, especially among the poor farmers of our area’, and requested that they ‘please deliver to me all kinds of tracts and booklets suitable for distributing to the ignorant people of this social class. Particularly suitable would be stories of conversions and awakenings written at the most popular level.’<sup>122</sup> Oeynhausens hoped that by handing out such religious literature, ‘spiritual counsel might once again be given to poor people and the Word of God offered to them in tracts as it is done in England.’<sup>123</sup> Her efforts resulted in the foundation of the Evangelical Christian Association in Northern Germany (*Evangelisch-christlichen Vereins im nördlichen Deutschland*) in Eisleben on 25 June 1811.<sup>124</sup> The following year, a group of pastors and lay Christians met in Barmen, where on 15 July 1812 they established the Wupper Valley Tract Society, ‘whose aim, in the spirit of the English tract society in London and in connection with them, is to distribute to religious tracts free of charge to the poorer classes.’<sup>125</sup>

From the year of its founding in 1804, the British and Foreign Bible Society was also in regular contact with several members of the Christianity Society: Jänicke in Berlin, Johann Tobias Kießling a merchant in Nuremberg, and Johann Friedrich Oberlin, a German Lutheran minister in Alsace-Lorraine. after whom his American Presbyterian admirers later named a liberal arts college founded in Ohio.<sup>126</sup> In 1806, Jänicke announced in his ‘Address to the Christians in the Prussian States’, his desire to form a Bible Society in Prussia that would be modeled after the British and Foreign Bible Society in London and the German Bible Society that Steinkopf had helped to found in Nuremberg in 1804. Jänicke declared, ‘No fire burns upon the altar of the Lord, without

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<sup>121</sup> Wichern, ‘Volksschriftenvereine’, p. 21.

<sup>122</sup> Wilhelmine von Oeynhausens, ‘An Christian Friedrich Spittler, 8 November 1810’, in Staehelin, *Briefen*, pp. 222-23.

<sup>123</sup> Wichern, ‘Volksschriftenvereine’, p. 21.

<sup>124</sup> Friedrich Lücke, ‘Ueber den Anfang und Fortgang des seit 1812 bestehenden evangelisch-christlichen Vereins im nördlichen Deutschland’, *AanKG*, 3 (1817), pp. 666-97 (p. 666).

<sup>125</sup> *Jubiläumsbericht der Wupperthaler Traktatgesellschaft in Barmen* (Barmen, 1864), p. 14.

<sup>126</sup> British and Foreign Bible Society, *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, I (London, n.d.), pp. 29-30, p. 34, pp. 40-41.

it spreading its flames. This fire has also spread its flames. The zeal of Christians in Britain has too poured over into the hearts of Christians in Germany.<sup>127</sup> The purpose of this society, towards which the BFBS gave 100 pounds, was to print and distribute, either freely, or at greatly reduced cost, German, Polish, and Czech-language Bibles to the ‘many, many poor Protestant families who lack their own Bible’, and thereby ‘richly sow the seed of God’s word throughout the lands of the Prussian states’.<sup>128</sup>

In 1812, the BFBS commissioned Steinkopf to make a tour of the continent in order to inquire into the spiritual conditions of its inhabitants, and more particularly, the availability of Bibles. From June to December, Steinkopf visited Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and Switzerland, travelling through, among other towns, Gothenburg, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Hannover, Göttingen, Erfurt, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Stuttgart, Tübingen, Zürich, Schaffhausen, Basel, Karlsruhe, Erlangen, Leipzig, Dresden, Herrnhut, Halle, Braunschweig, Schleswig, and Flensburg. In a 9 December 1812 letter written to his fellow directors of the BFBS upon his arrival back in London, Steinkopf remarked he ‘could not sufficiently bless God’s sacred name for having privileged me to minister the bread of life to so many hungry souls, to put that blessed book, the Bible, in to the hands of thousands of poor in various countries and languages, to encourage the Bible Societies and Bible Committees already established, to add others to their number, and to return laden with the benedictions of the Gospel of peace.’<sup>129</sup> By 31 December 1814, there were Bible Societies in 40 continental European cities: 16 in Germany, six in Switzerland, four in Sweden, two each in the Netherlands, Russia, Ukraine, and Estonia, and one each in Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, and Norway.<sup>130</sup> Each of these was either receiving funding from the BFBS or had been modeled after it. Also by

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<sup>127</sup> Johann Jänicke, ‘Aufruf an die Christen in den Königlich Preußischen Staaten zur Förderung der Bibelverbreitung, 1806’, in *Geschichte der Preußischen Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft in ihrem ersten Halbjahrhundert, 1814-1864* (Berlin, 1864), pp. 17-18 (p. 18).

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>129</sup> K. F. A. Steinkopf, ‘Letter XVII’ in *Letters Relative to a Tour on the Continent Undertaken at the Request of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society in the Year 1812* (Burlington, NJ: Lexicon Press, 1815), p. 110.

<sup>130</sup> ‘Bible Societies established in Foreign Parts, encouraged by pecuniary aid from the British and Foreign Bible Society, or by its example. – Also Editions of the Scriptures printed, or printing, by them, in various Languages and Dialects, aided by Donations from the Same Society’, in *The Eleventh Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1815), pp. 510-12.



this time, the British Society had purchased or published 95,000 Bibles and 104,000 New Testaments in 24 continental European languages.<sup>131</sup> In Steinkopf's eyes, these areas of cooperation were a visible sign of 'the delightful bond of union which subsists between British and Continental Christians'.<sup>132</sup>

This section has traced how awakened Protestants responded positively to the new evangelistic initiatives that were begun by evangelical Protestants in the United Kingdom and sought to establish similar religious societies in Germany. However, their ability to do so immediately was hindered by the many disruptions and dislocations that were caused by the Napoleonic Wars. With the return of social tranquility to Europe after 1815, it became more possible for awakened Protestants to organise and implement the designs of their new religious societies.

## 5.5 The Rationalisation of evangelism

'Bylaws, the central committee, monthly meetings, record-keeping, distributing summary reports to every member of the society: these are the familiar forms of the life of our association.'<sup>133</sup> With these words Ludwig von Rohden, the director of the Barmen Missionary Society's missionary training seminary, reflected on the institutional life of his society in 1871, some forty-three years after its establishment in 1818. Rohden's observations concisely summarise the means by which awakened Protestants rationalised the task of evangelism through their creation of administrative bureaucracies to operate their religious societies. This process can be clearly seen in the religious societies' constitutions (*Grundsätze*). These conformed to a general pattern in which they each defined their respective institutional missions, delineated the specific areas of responsibility belonging to the officers and members of their societies, and prescribed how their organisations were to pursue their aims. Let us examine this phenomenon more closely through several examples from different geographic regions of Germany.

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<sup>131</sup> 'Bible Societies established in Foreign Parts', pp. 510-14.

<sup>132</sup> Steinkopf, *Letters*, p. v.

<sup>133</sup> Rohden, *Geschichte der Rheinischen Missions-Gesellschaft*, p. 2.

With financial assistance delivered by the British and Foreign Bible Society's agent, the Scottish missionary Robert Pinkerton, the Saxon Bible Society was established in the royal capital of Dresden on 18 August 1814. On this occasion the Lutheran Superintendent of the Church of Saxony Carl Christian Tittman remarked, 'It is a remarkable occurrence how our German Fatherland has had brought to its attention what it is necessary for it to do by those who belong to a foreign nation.'<sup>134</sup> Tittman continued, 'for the last thirty to forty years, many theologians and philosophers have joined forces to together assail the divine origins of the Holy Scriptures and assert that they are a merely human text... By raising suspicions regarding the veracity of the life, suffering, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus, they have challenged the foundation of our faith.'<sup>135</sup> Tittman believed that many of the ministers who had been trained by such university professors had become preachers of the 'religion of reason (*Vernunftreligion*)' instead of preachers of the 'revealed religion of Christ (*geoffenbarten Christusreligion*).'<sup>136</sup> Tittman envisaged that the mass distribution of Bibles, especially to poor families who did not have a copy of the Bible to read for themselves and to the members of the rising generation, would provide a much needed corrective to the rationalist interpretations of Christian Scripture. These sentiments were codified in the society's by-laws.

'The chief purpose of the Society is to spread the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament among the poorer classes of the Kingdom of Saxony.'<sup>137</sup> Adapting the model of the British and Foreign Bible Society, this was to be done by distributing Bibles 'in Dr. Luther's translation, without note or comment.'<sup>138</sup> Exceptions to this policy were to be made for Catholics, 'to whom Bibles shall be given in their own preferred translation' and to the Sorbian ethnic minority living in Lausitz, who were to receive copies of the Bible written in their own language.<sup>139</sup> Membership in the society

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<sup>134</sup> *Nachricht von er zu Dresden am 10ten August 1814 errichteten Bibelgesellschaft für das Königreich Sachsen* (Dresden, 1814), p. 5.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

was open to all of the inhabitants of Saxony, who ‘support the Bible and its distribution, regardless of their age, church membership, class, gender, or other circumstances’, and who made either an annual monetary contribution to the Society or a contribution in kind, in the form of donated Bibles or New Testaments.<sup>140</sup> The resources that were given by the members of the society were received by a central committee that was entrusted with using the funds to purchase copies of Scriptures and to then coordinate their distribution. By operating collectively in this manner, members of the society were able to procure Bibles and New Testaments much more efficiently and cost effectively than if they had done so on an individual basis.

The central committee was comprised of one president, four vice-presidents, fifteen directors, three secretaries, and one treasurer, each of whom was elected by the membership at its annual August general meeting. These officers received no monetary compensation for their service. Half of the members of central committee left office each year and were eligible for re-election the following year. The president and vice-president oversaw the operations of the Society at the kingdom-wide level, while each of the directors convened regional meetings of members of the Society in various cities and towns, for example, in Wittenberg and Leipzig. All of the members of the central committee then met on the fourth Thursday of each month, during which time the directors presented requests for Bibles that they had received from those members of the society who resided in the respective districts of the Saxony that they each represented. The society also received requests directly from those who claimed to be in need of a Bible, provided that they were accompanied by a letter from a local minister who attested to the genuineness of their need. Upon approving a request for Bibles, the central committee then authorised expenditures of funds for their printing and shipping to the local member, who then delivered them to their recipients. Such Bibles were marked with stamps that forbade their resale. The treasurer was charged with keeping yearly records of all the income that the society had received and all the expenditures that it had incurred. These were then published in pamphlet form in July, along with

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

summaries of the society's activities written by the president and directors, which were distributed to the members ahead of the annual August general meeting.<sup>141</sup> Many other Bible societies functioned with the same organisational structure and protocols, whether they operated in only one metropolitan area, such as the Hamburg-Altona Bible Society, or in many territories, as did the Central Prussian Bible Society.<sup>142</sup>

The annual reports of the Danzig Bible Society are a particularly illuminating source for the demographic composition of Bible societies in that they stated the trade or profession of each of its members. For example, in its twenty-first annual report, for the year 1834-35, contributions were listed from 313 individuals, of whom 85 (27%) were labourers, journeymen, or master artisans (amber jewelers, barbers, master bakers, master blacksmiths, bookbinders, master brewers, master butchers, candle-makers, master carpenters, cloth dyers, coppersmiths, distillers, furniture makers, goldsmiths, granary workers, grocers, hat-makers, master locksmiths, millers, musical instrument makers, paperhangers, master plumbers, master potters, printers, shoemakers, and master tailors), 79 (25%) were merchants, 50 (16%) were government officials, 38 (12%) were women not working outside the home, 24 (8%) were ministers or church officials, 16 (5%) were schoolteachers, 11 (4%) were medical doctors or pharmacists, and 4 (1%) were military officers.<sup>143</sup> Such diverse groups of supporters were able to facilitate the distribution of numerous copies of the Bible through the central coordination provided by the Bible societies' bureaucratic administrations. From 1814 to 1833, the largest of the German Bible societies, the Central Prussian Bible Society produced some 630,000 Bibles and New Testaments (an average of 31,500 per year), followed by an additional 2,091,000 (69,700 per year) from 1833 to 1863. During the same fifty-year span, the Saxon Bible Society increased its average annual production from 4,800 per year in

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>142</sup> *Sechster Jahresbericht der Hamburg-Altonaischen Bibel-Gesellschaft* (Hamburg, 1821), pp. 49-54; *Einundzwanzigster Jahresbericht der preussischen Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft über das Jahr 1835* (Berlin, 1836), pp. 104-05.

<sup>143</sup> *Ein-und-zwanzigster Jahresbericht der Danziger Bibelgesellschaft* (Danzig, 1835), pp. 21-29.

1814 to more than 10,000 per year in 1863, while the Bible Society of the Rhineland averaged 8,100 per year over the entire period.<sup>144</sup>

The religious tract societies were formed to address the same perceived problem as the Bible societies: the general ignorance of Christian doctrine, especially among the poorer segments of society. Due to the comparable natures of their work in distributing Bibles and religious literature, the constitutions of these two kinds of societies were quite similar. For example, the 1812 constitution of the *Evangelisch-Christlicher* Association of Northern Germany stipulated, 'The purpose of this institution is simply to redress how the Holy Scriptures have lost their esteem in the eyes of many, to bring back to such people the divine stories and doctrines that are contained therein, especially the gospel of Jesus, and to give general instructions for how one might read the Scriptures reasonably and fruitfully. In a word, the Bible shall be brought to bear upon every area of life, but only as the letter is transformed into spirit and life.'<sup>145</sup> The *Evangelisch-Christlicher* Association of Northern Germany realised rapid growth in its early years. Its membership expanded from 32 individuals in 1812 to 1,019 in 1815 to 2,445 in 1820.<sup>146</sup> By 1831 it had distributed 649,000 booklets, 'each of which are 12-15 pages thick.'<sup>147</sup> Its annual report for 1840 recorded that the central society had acquired regionally affiliated societies in 61 towns in cities in northern Germany from East Prussia to the Dutch border.<sup>148</sup> By 1865, the Association had distributed an aggregate total of 3 million copies of 141 different tracts.<sup>149</sup>

Echoing the *Evangelisch-Christlicher* Association of Northern Germany's assessment and plan of action, the Central Association for Devotional Literature in the

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<sup>144</sup> Hans Brückmann, *Bibelverbreitung im Rheinland: 175 Jahre Evangelische Bibelwerk im Rheinland* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1989), p. 136; Helmut Löffler and Joachim Bätjer, '175 Jahre Sächsische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft', in *Der Beginn einer Geschichte*, ed. Ekkehard Runge (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft zu Berlin), pp. 56-65 (p. 61); Klaus-Dieter Kaiser, 'Die Anfänge der Preußischen Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft und ihr Verhältnis zur Evangelischen Kirche', in *Der Beginn einer Geschichte*, pp. 14-39 (p. 16).

<sup>145</sup> Lücke, 'Ueber den Anfang und Fortgang', p. 675.

<sup>146</sup> 'Der christliche Verein im nördlichen Deutschland', *MFCZ*, 9 (1833), pp. 174-84 (pp. 175-77).

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>148</sup> *Rechnung über Einnahme und Ausgabe des christlichen Vereins im nördlichen Deutschland vom Michaelis 1839 bis dahin 1840* (Halle, 1841), p. 15.

<sup>149</sup> P. Lenzinger, 'Referat über die Frage der Volksliteratur', *SZG*, 7 (1868), pp. 97-142 (p. 134).

Prussian States stated in its founding documents of 1814, ‘It cannot be denied how in our day many Christians are drifting away from the holy faith and faithful conduct of our forefathers. This is due partially to a near total unfamiliarity with the main truths of the gospel, and partially to a rising contempt for the same... the purpose of this association is distribute free of charge short works that promote Christian edification to our fellow Christians.’<sup>150</sup> Both of these societies welcomed as members anyone who agreed with their religious outlook on contemporary German society and contributed an annual membership fee. The institutional relationships between the members of the tract societies and the tract societies’ central committees were the same as those which existed within Bible societies; the aggregate contributions of the members enabled the central committee to print thousands of copies of tracts, which it then shipped to them for distribution in their localities according to their local knowledge of those who might benefit.

The religious tract societies further advanced the rationalisation of evangelism among awakened Protestants beyond the ways in which the Bible societies had merely bureaucratised the processes of producing and distributing copies of Scripture throughout Germany. Most of the religious tracts that the societies passed out were written by pastors, while a few were written by sympathetic university theologians, such as August Tholuck.<sup>151</sup> By delegating the tracts’ content creation to those who were the most adept at articulating the Christian message, the societies built up their respective catalogues of religious tracts. Each year, new lists of the tracts that the societies then had available for distribution were published in the annual reports that they distributed to their members. The societies’ members were then able to choose from among a far greater number of well-composed evangelistic messages on specific topics that were addressed to a wider range of particular audiences than any one person would have been able to produce on their own. After browsing such lists, members could then order tracts

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<sup>150</sup> ‘Plan des am 3ten August 1814 gestifteten Vereins für christliche Erbauungsschriften in den Preußischen Staaten’, *NNRG*, 1 (1817), pp. 12-15 (pp. 12-13).

<sup>151</sup> August Tholuck, *Eine Stimme wider die Theaterlust : nebst den Zeugnissen der theuren Männer Gottes dagegen, des seligen Ph. Speners und des seligen A. H. Franke* (Berlin: Trowitzsch, 1824); August Tholuck, *Wichtige Stellen des Rabbinischen Buches Sohar im Text und mit Uebersetzung* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1824).

from the society's central committee with those persons, or types of people, in mind to whom they wished to give such religious literature.

According to the Central Association for Devotional Literature in the Prussian States' 1826 annual report, in the ten years from 1816 to 1825, its 567 members, who resided in 147 cities, towns, and villages from the Rhineland to the Baltic, had collectively distributed 953,170 copies of 46 German-language tracts, 17,200 copies of 5 Polish-language tracts, 4,000 copies of one tract written in Lithuanian, and 3,000 copies of one tract written in Czech.<sup>152</sup> The society's tract catalogue offered tracts that had been written especially for children, young men, young women, servants, shepherds, soldiers, journeymen craftsmen, and those who were suffering from illness, while others were addressed a general audience with titles such as, 'An invitation to all', 'Reflections on the question, what shall I do to be saved', 'An essay on prayer', and 'Do you believe that you are a sinner?'.<sup>153</sup> The Central Association for Devotional Literature in the Prussian States continued its work until 1900, ultimately expanding its catalogue to 298 tracts. Similarly, in its first fourteen years, also from 1812 to 1825, the Wupper Valley Tract Society in the Rhineland published 97 religious tracts, and reached a grand total of 731 before its closure in 1908.

While the Bible and religious tract societies employed bureaucratic methods in the pursuit of their evangelistic goals, it was the new missionary societies founded by awakened Protestants in the early nineteenth century that exemplified the rationalisation of evangelism to the greatest degree. Protestant missionaries had been leaving German-speaking Europe on a regular basis ever since the Moravian Brethren began doing so in 1732. Indeed, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of Moravian missions that was held at Herrnhut in 1832, the Lutheran consistory in Breslau (the city in southwestern Poland that is now known as Wrocław) publically recognised the importance of this work in a letter of congratulations that it sent to the leaders of the Brethren. Herein they expressed their thanks for how 'during the barren age of the Enlightenment you

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<sup>152</sup> *Nachweisung über Einnahme und Ausgabe gedruckte und vertheilte Schriften, Mitgleider, Wohlthäter und Tochter-Gesellschaften des Haupt-Vereins für christliche Erbauungsschriften in den Preussischen Staaten aus dem Jahre 1826* (Berlin, 1827), pp. 17-40.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

maintained a faithful witness to the Saviour...and then awakened us to the importance of missions'.<sup>154</sup> The Moravians' model of missions was based on establishing self-sustaining communities, modeled after Herrnhut itself, that were populated by missionaries and converts from the indigenous populations who had joined them. In 1823, the Brethren reported 170 missionaries then serving in their sixteen settlements in Greenland, North America, South America, the Caribbean and Africa, a figure which rose to 282 in 1847.<sup>155</sup>

Awakened Protestants adopted an entirely different approach from that of the Moravians in how they went about sending out missionaries. Instead of building settlements in foreign lands, they commenced their efforts by establishing academies in Germany for the education and training of missionaries. Altogether, by mid-century these institutions had trained several hundred men, who subsequently departed Germany as missionaries to historically non-Christian peoples around the world. In the years after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, these academies began to receive support from voluntary societies in many cities across Germany that formed for the purposes of raising funds on their behalf, distributing published accounts of missionaries' activities abroad, and holding prayer meetings for the success of their endeavours. The graduates of these academies initially found employment with either one of the English, Dutch, or Danish missionary societies. It was not until 1821, when the Basel Missionary Society sent several missionaries first to the German colonists and Central Asian peoples living along the Volga River near the present-day Russian-Kazakh border and then to the inhabitants of the Caucasus Mountains, that any German missionary society directly oversaw missionary activities in a foreign country.<sup>156</sup> Indeed, it was not until the mid-1830s that multiple German missionary societies had grown from being merely groups that financed the education of local young men who went to study at one of the

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<sup>154</sup> Erich Schulze, *Das Evangelische Schlesien: Der Anteil des evangelischen Schlesien an der Weltmission* (Ulm: Verlag Unser Weg, 1962), p. 20.

<sup>155</sup> 'Verzeichniß der Missionsplätze der Evangelischen Brüder-Kirche', *NBG*, 6 (1824), 3-6; Brauer, *Gesellschaften der Evangelischen Kirche des Europäischen Westlandes*, I, p. 125.

<sup>156</sup> Schlatter, *Geschichte der Basler Mission*, pp. 95-100.



academies to organisations that had developed their own missionary stations in Africa, Asia, and Oceania.<sup>157</sup>

On 1 February 1800, Johann Jänicke opened in Berlin the first such academy for missionaries. Between 1800 and 1827, there were 80 students from Bavaria, Bohemia, Brandenburg, East Prussia, Hanover, Holstein, Pomerania, Thuringia, and from the German-speaking community in present-day Estonia who came to the Prussian capital to study under him. After finishing their course of studies, these young men were engaged by missionary societies from England, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Germany to go to present-day China, India, Indonesia, Jerusalem, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sri Lanka, and Tunisia.<sup>158</sup> After being impressed by reading an account of the success that Karl Rhenius, one of Jänicke's students who served with the Anglican Church Missionary Society, was having in organising new churches in India, King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia became a patron of his missionary seminary in 1820 and thereafter annually granted it 500 Thalers.<sup>159</sup>

Inspired by Jänicke's example, sixteen years after the opening of his missionary training academy in Berlin, the Christianity Society established a second such institution in Basel on 26 August 1816 under the direction of Christian Blumhardt. In an 18 July 1815 letter in which he requested permission to open such an institution, Christian Spittler, Steinkopf's successor as the secretary of the Christianity Society, informed the canton authorities in Basel how:

There are a number of worthy friends of Christianity here and elsewhere who have long expressed their desire to establish a missionary academy (*Missionsinstitut*) in this city, the kind of which already exist with such philanthropic success in London, Rotterdam, Berlin, and Halle. In such a school, young men from any confession and social class, who have been recognised for their moral uprightness and serious thinking about religion, could receive instruction in foreign languages and pure Biblical doctrine, and then after several years, be sent out as useful missionaries to the numberless multitudes of heathens

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<sup>157</sup> Richter, *Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft*, pp. 91-142; Oehler, *Früzeit und Blüte*, pp. 235-95.

<sup>158</sup> Johann Jänicke, 'Die evangelische Missionsschule in Berlin: Ein Brief des Herrn Predigers Jänicke, unter dem dieses Werk begonnen hat, und bis jetzt seit 20 Jahren fortgesetzt worden ist', *SLchWG*, 35 (1820), pp. 369-80; Ledderhose, *Johann Jänicke*, pp. 105-130.

<sup>159</sup> Oehler, *Früzeit und Blüte*, p. 116.

in foreign parts of the world and, according to the command of Christ in Matthew 28:19, announce to them the gospel that saves.<sup>160</sup>

In 1819, the Dresden Missionary Society sent August Heinrich Dittrich as its first sponsored student to study at the academy in Basel.<sup>161</sup> In an account of his personal experience of awakening, Dittrich wrote how one day after reading the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew 5, ‘the scales fell from the eyes of my heart’, which he described as having been ‘hardened by Satan and English deism.’<sup>162</sup> Thereafter, Dittrich, who had previously studied law and history at Leipzig University from 1816-19, studied theology in Basel, Arabic in Paris, and Persian, Turkish, and Armenian in Cambridge, before leaving as a missionary to Central Asia in 1821, to preach the gospel ‘to the millions of those immortal souls there, who are languishing in the kingdom of Satan.’<sup>163</sup>

A detailed table in the annual report of the Basel Missionary Society (*Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel*) for 1836 recorded how within twenty years of its founding in 1816 there had been 125 students from Austria, Baden, Bavaria, Berlin, Cologne, East Prussia, Hamburg, Hannover, Hesse, Nassau, Pomerania, the Rhineland, Russia, Saxony, Schleswig, Silesia, Sweden, Switzerland, Thuringia, Württemberg, and Westphalia who had come to study at the missionary training academy in Basel, before going out to Australia, Barbados, the Crimea, Egypt, present-day Ethiopia, Georgia (Caucuses), Greece, India, Indonesia, Iran, Jamaica, Kazakhstan, Liberia, Ohio, Malta, Michigan, Romania, Sierra Leone, Polynesia, Russia, Trinidad, Tunisia, Turkey, and the Ukraine.<sup>164</sup> The missionaries that trained in Basel completed a five-year course in which they received no formal instruction in either confessional or systematic theology, but were instead given extensive training in reading and interpreting the Bible from its original Greek and Hebrew texts. The candidates also

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<sup>160</sup> Spittler’s letter quoted in Schlatter, *Geschichte der Basler Mission*, p. 20.

<sup>161</sup> Karl Hennig, ‘Die sächsische Erweckungsbewegung im Anfange des 19. Jahrhunderts’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leipzig, 1928), p. 111.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>163</sup> A. W. Fechner, *Chronik der evangelischen Gemeinden in Moskau* (Moscow: J. Deubner, 1876), p. 479.

<sup>164</sup> ‘Verzeichniß der gegenwärtig in fernen Arbeitsfelde stehenden Zöglinge der evangelischen Missionsschule zu Basel’, and ‘Die Namen der Entschlafenen, welche im seligen Dienste Christi ihren kurzen Lebenslauf bereits vollenden haben’, *Bericht am ein-und-zwanzigsten Jahresfeste der evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel* (1836), pp. 8-14.

received instruction in areas of practical theology (preaching, catechesis, psychology (*Psychologie*), and how to lead singing in corporate worship); in languages (Arabic, English, Latin, German rhetoric and composition); and general knowledge (arithmetic, geography, geometry, and logic).<sup>165</sup>

A third school for the preparation of missionaries opened in Barmen on 11 July 1825 under the aegis of the Barmen Missionary Society.<sup>166</sup> According to an 1851 report, by this time there were 47 Barmen graduates who had gone on to serve as missionaries in southern Africa, Indonesia, or China.<sup>167</sup>

On 2 February 1835, Friedrich Mallet, the so-called ‘awakened preacher’ of Bremen, delivered an address to the Bremen Missionary Society, in which he updated the society’s members as to how the missionary students whom they had supported to attend the missionary academies in Barmen and Basel were now serving in a variety of foreign fields. The missionaries named ‘Wermelskirch, Korck, and Beiderbeck’, were then ‘ministering to the Turks, Arabs, and Copts in Egypt, a land which the depravities of French civilization and the sword of Islamic fanaticism (*Schwerdt des muhamedanischen Fanatismus*) have imprisoned in a strong fortress of Satan.’<sup>168</sup> Mallet was also pleased to inform his auditors that another of the missionaries that the society supported, ‘our Hartwig’, was learning the local language of the island in the Dutch East Indies to which he had been sent by the Dutch Missionary Society and that he had recently become engaged to be married.<sup>169</sup> He also announced that the new students ‘Nülsen, Bultmann, and Mengers’ were scheduled to shortly begin their studies.<sup>170</sup>

After the death of Jänicke on 21 July 1827, the fourth missionary training academy in Germany was opened in Berlin on 5 January 1829 by the Berlin Society for

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<sup>165</sup> ‘Unsere evangelische Missionsschule’, *Bericht am ein-und-zwanzigsten Jahresfeste der evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel* (1836), pp. 21-22.

<sup>166</sup> Eduard Kriele, *Aus der alten Barmer Missionsgesellschaft: Zur Erinnerung an ihr 100 jähriges Bestehen* (Barmen: Missionshaus, 1918), p. 20

<sup>167</sup> Brauer, *Gesellschaften der Evangelischen Kirche des Europäischen Westlandes*, II, p. 310.

<sup>168</sup> *Bericht von der am 2. Februar 1835 gehalten öffentlichen Jahresversammlung der Bibelgesellschaft und des Missionsvereins in Bremen* (Bremen, 1835), p. 28.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

the Promotion of the Gospel Among the Heathen.<sup>171</sup> In addition to the requirement that its students undertake a solid ‘academic preparation’ (*wissenschaftliche Ausbildung*) for missionary work, including learning to read Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the Berlin Mission Society stipulated that ‘first and foremost, our candidates must have a true, heartfelt, and experiential faith in Christ as the saviour and reconciler of the world’.<sup>172</sup> There were 80 graduates from Jänicke’s missionary school between 1801 and 1827, compared to 169 graduates from the Berlin Missionary Society’s training academy between 1829 and 1849; this suggests an increase in both the interest and opportunities for young men to train as missionaries over the period.<sup>173</sup> Furthermore, it must also be noted how Jänicke’s immediate successor as the pastor of the Moravian community in Berlin, Johannes Goßner, a former Roman Catholic priest from Bavaria, criticised the missionary seminary operated by the Berlin Society for the Promotion of the Gospel Among the Heathen for placing too great of an emphasis on developing its students’ academic abilities. Goßner saw no purpose in teaching missionary candidates to read Ovid’s poetry in Latin and Homer’s epics in Greek when the aim was to prepare them to preach and teach the Bible to the peoples of Africa and Asia.<sup>174</sup>

In 1836, Goßner began to offer theological instruction to those from artisan backgrounds (*Handwerker*) who wished to enter missionary service, but were unable to handle the intellectual rigors of the missionary academy. In 1842, his efforts led to the formation of the Evangelical Missionary Association for Spreading the Gospel among the Natives of Heathen Lands (*Evangelischen Missionsverein zur Ausbreitung des Christentums unter den Eingeborenen der Heidenländer*).<sup>175</sup> Before his death in 1858,

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<sup>171</sup> Johannes Althausen, ‘Kirchliche Gesellschaften in Berlin, 1810 bis 1830: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Erweckungsbewegung und des Laienapostolats in den evangelischen Kirchen des 19. Jahrhunderts’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Halle-Wittenberg, 1965), pp. 201-02; Schlatter, *Geschichte der Basler Mission*, p. 36.

<sup>172</sup> Althausen, ‘Kirchliche Gesellschaften in Berlin, 1810 bis 1830’, pp. 203-04.

<sup>173</sup> Brauer, *Gesellschaften der Evangelischen Kirche des Europäischen Westlandes*, II, pp. 562-63; Althausen, ‘Kirchliche Gesellschaften in Berlin, 1810 bis 1830’, pp. 201-02.

<sup>174</sup> Johann Prochnow, *Johannes Evangelist Goßner: Eine biographische Skizze nebst Uebersicht der Goßnerschen Missionsthätigkeit* (Berlin: Verlag des evangelischen Missions- und Frauen-Kranen Vereins, 1850), p. 36.

<sup>175</sup> Klaus Roeber, ‘Johanns Evangelista Goßner: Eine Skizze seines Lebens’, in *Zwischen Wort und Tat: Beiträge zum 150. Todestag von Johannes Evangelista Goßner*, ed. by Ulrich Schöntube (Neuendettelsau: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 2009), pp. 26-27.

Gossner had sent out 158 missionaries who practiced a trade, whom he argued hereby imitated Paul's missionary example as a tentmaker (Acts 18:3), to Australia, India, Indonesia, the United States, and western Africa.<sup>176</sup> The legacy of these tradesmen missionaries is especially visible today in India, where, according to a 2014 report of the Lutheran World Federation, the Evangelical Lutheran Gossner Church of Chotanagpur and Assam has 374,806 members.<sup>177</sup>

A fifth missionary seminary opened in Dresden in 1836, after awakened Protestants in Saxony became dissatisfied with how the missionary candidates that they had been sending to Basel were receiving a theological education that they believed was insufficiently Lutheran, in terms of its doctrinal emphases.<sup>178</sup> Between 1836 and its closure in 1846, the Dresden seminary under the leadership of Karl Graul prepared 13 students for missionary service in a manner distinctly informed by the Lutheran confessions and theological tradition. These missionaries subsequently ministered in India, Australia, and the United States.<sup>179</sup>

The final missionary training school that was founded in Germany during the area of the awakening was opened in Hamburg in 1837, following the amalgamation of missionary societies in Bremen, Bremerhaven, Hamburg, Lauenburg, Lehe, Ritzebüttel, and Stade into the Northern German Missionary Society in 1836. Their seminary graduated 15 missionaries before its closure in 1849.<sup>180</sup>

With a gift of 10,000 thalers from the Saxon Prince Otto Victor von Schönburg-Waldenburg, the directors of the Basel missionary training academy attempted to replicate this model of evangelism on an indigenous Christian basis in India by founding a missionary training school in Mangalore in 1836.<sup>181</sup> Likewise, Karl Friedrich Gützlaff,

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<sup>176</sup> G. Memel, 'Protestantische Missionen unter den Heiden', *RE*, X (1882), 69-70.

<sup>177</sup> Lutheran World Federation, 'Evangelisch-Lutherische Gossner-Kirche in Chotanagpur und Assam', <http://www.lutheranworld.org/Directory/asi/GosEvLuthCchinChotanAssam-EN.html>, accessed on 27 February 2015.

<sup>178</sup> Hans-Werner Gensichen, *Missionsgeschichte der neueren Zeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1976), p. 38.

<sup>179</sup> Paul Fleisch, *Hundert Jahre lutherischer Mission* (Leipzig: Verlag der Evangelisch-lutherischen Mission, 1936), pp. 9-10, p. 26.

<sup>180</sup> Eva Schöck-Quinteros and Dieter Lenz, eds., *150 Jahre Norddeutsche Mission 1836-1986* (Bremen: Norddeutsche Mission, 1986), p. 1.

<sup>181</sup> Oehler, *Früzeit und Blüte*, p. 289.

a graduate of Jänicke's missionary academy in Berlin did the same when together with 20 Chinese Christians he established a training center for Chinese preachers in Hong Kong in 1844.<sup>182</sup>

The establishment of these six missionary academies throughout Germany contributed to the rationalisation of evangelism among awakened Protestants by transforming the exercise of the missionary vocation as well as its popular conceptualization. The resulting professionalisation created new possibilities for evangelism in the wider world.<sup>183</sup> Fundamentally, the pursuit of these depended on individuals willing to undertake years of advanced education and training before relocating to another part of the world. However, these new possibilities required that there be people who were capable of coordinating and publicising missionaries' efforts and organising the required fundraising. The missionary academies and periodicals established the idea in the public mind that being a missionary was an honorable type of specialised religious service. It became increasingly apparent to those who wished to support the work of missionaries that they could best do so by creating religious voluntary societies for this purpose, and adopting the same kinds of organisational structures that had been pioneered by supporters of the Bible societies and religious tract societies. Such bureaucratic support enabled those who were directly involved in missionary work to realise the same benefits of centralised administration as those who were active in the distribution of Bibles and religious literature.

## 5.6 Conclusions

This chapter has analysed several new organisational forms of Christian evangelistic ministry that began in Germany during the time of the Awakening. These new kinds of religious societies furnish examples of how the socially transformative process of *Verbürgerlichung* manifested itself in the sphere of religious life as awakened

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<sup>182</sup> Herman Schlyter, *Karl Gützlaff als Missionar in China* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1946), p. 157.

<sup>183</sup> Hermann Wellenreuther, 'Pietismus und Mission vom 17. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts', in *Geschichte des Pietismus, IV: Glaubenswelt und Lebenswelten*, ed. by Hartmut Lehmann and Ruth Albrecht (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2004), pp. 166-93 (p. 173).

Protestants rationalised their practice of evangelism. In unprecedented ways, non-ordained German Protestants hereby exercised a form of collective agency in order to attempt to bring about religious awakenings in the lives of those inside and outside Germany. Moreover, although awakened Protestants were theologically traditional in their doctrinal positions, the examples of these new religious societies suggest that as a religious movement, the Awakening was a distinctly modern religious phenomenon.

## Chapter Six: The Awakening and new religious societies for social reform

### Introduction

The preceding chapter analysed how the Awakening movement fostered popular enthusiasm for evangelism in Germany. During this time, Protestants' zeal for spreading the message of Christianity became subject to modern kinds of organisational and operational rationalisation through the protocols of hundreds of new religious societies. Indeed, according to one count that was taken in 1845 by Ernst Huth, a Lutheran minister in Ludwigslust in Mecklenburg, '1,457 Protestant associations for Christian purposes in Germany and German-speaking Switzerland' were then operating.<sup>1</sup> However, despite the importance that awakened Protestants attached to distributing Bibles and religious literature, many concluded that such efforts were alone insufficient to accomplish the evangelisation of Germany. In particular, such Protestants believed that it was necessary to adopt a more holistic approach to evangelism, one that was premised on the improvement of the living conditions of people in difficult circumstances. They thereby hoped that people suffering from different kinds of social dislocation might accept the gospel message.

One of the first annual reviews of such endeavours began to be published in Berlin in 1829: *The yearbook of the associations for the reform of prisoners, the education of orphans, the care of the poor, and other works of Christian love*.<sup>2</sup> Several other surveys that were published between 1840 and 1850 listed dozens of new associations, institutes, and societies that had been formed to address various social problems since the end of the Wars of Liberation.<sup>3</sup> This chapter continues to analyse how evangelism became rationalised by examining how social amelioration projects

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<sup>1</sup> Ernst Huth, ed., *Evangelischer Vereinskalendar Deutschlands und der protestantischen Schweiz für das Jahr 1845* (Ludwigslust: Hinstorf'sche Buchhandlung, 1845).

<sup>2</sup> *Besserungs-Anstalten, Erziehungshäuser, Armenfürsorge, und anderer Werke, der christlichen Liebe*, 1 (1829).

<sup>3</sup> Anonymous, 'Rettungsanstalten,' in *Ausführliche Encyclopädie der gesamten Staatsarzneikunde*, II, ed. by Georg Friedrich Most (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1840), pp. 620-25; Ludwig Völter, *Geschichte und Statistik der Rettungs-Anstalten für arme verwahrloste Kinder in Württemberg* (Stuttgart: J.F. Steinkopf'schen Buchhandlung, 1845); Karl Braune, *Unsre Zeit und die inner Mission* (Leipzig: Friedrich Christian Wilhelm Vogel, 1850).



were a major part of awakened Protestants' attempts to promote adherence to Christianity during the *Vormärz*. Through such new organisations, the ways in which awakened Protestants practiced charity were also transformed by managerial bureaucratisation and standardisation.

For example, between 1813 and 1830, 17 institutions, that were eventually called either a '*Rettungsanstalt*' or a '*Rettungshaus*' – 'houses of rescue and salvation', opened to care for and educate poor and orphaned children. Robert von Mohl was a University of Tübingen professor of government and a member of both the parliament of the Kingdom of Württemberg and of the revolutionary Frankfurt parliament of 1848.<sup>4</sup> In an 1845 journal article he commented on how the unique religious motivations of those who operated *Rettungshäuser* made them a distinctly different type of institution from those orphanages (*Waisenhäuser*), foundling homes for abandoned children (*Findelhäuser*), and workhouses (*Zuchthäuser*) that had long been operated by state authorities.<sup>5</sup> Mohl noted that the children who were taken in by *Rettungshäuser* had a lower rate of mortality (3.3%) than the national average mortality rate of all children. He also observed that only 10% of *Rettungshaus*-children later became criminals in adult life.<sup>6</sup> A further 48 other *Rettungsanstalten* and *Rettungshäuser* were established between 1831 and 1847, followed by another 291 between 1848 and 1867.<sup>7</sup>

During the era of the Awakening, Protestants also founded hundreds of voluntary societies that were dedicated to addressing particular social ills and to evangelising specific segments of society that they believed were socially estranged from ecclesiastical life. These societies were initiated by clergy and lay people who had been influenced by awakened preaching and theology in Germany, as well as by examples of similar religious societies in Britain and America. For example, while studying theology at the University of Kiel between 1813 and 1816, the Hamburg minister Johann Rautenberg reported having had an experience of religious awakening as he listened to

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<sup>4</sup> Heinrich Marquardsen, 'Robert von Mohl', *ADB*, 22 (1877), pp. 745-58.

<sup>5</sup> Robert von Mohl, 'Die Rettungshäuser für verwahrloste Kinder,' *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft* 2 (1845), pp. 649-72 (pp. 651-62).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 657.

<sup>7</sup> Theodor Schäfer, *Leitfaden der Inneren Mission, zunächst für den Berufsunterricht in Diakonen- und Diakonissen-Anstalten* (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1903), p. 117.

August Twesten's lectures on systematic theology.<sup>8</sup> Several years after he began parish ministry in Hamburg in 1820, Rautenberg received a financial grant of £10 from the Sunday School Union in London in 1824 to open the first such rudimentary school in Germany for children whose parents could not otherwise afford their tuition.<sup>9</sup> In a speech that he made in 1830 to raise additional funds for the education of the harbour city's urban poor, Rautenberg asked rhetorically: 'Is there nothing that we are able to do to help them? What is it that stops us from entering into such work? What prevents us from becoming missionaries to alleviate the heathen misery that resides within our own city walls just like our brothers in London, Glasgow, and New York already do?'<sup>10</sup>

Awakened Protestants founded many other kinds of societies and institutions out of their concerns for the spiritual life and physical well-being of the poorest and most vulnerable members of German society. There were associations to care for prostitutes and young women who had become pregnant outside of marriage (e.g. *Das Magdalen-Stift für verführte und gefallene Mädchen*, (Hamburg, founded in 1821); *Das Evangelische Magdalenenstift in Berlin*, 1841) associations to rehabilitate and reintegrate former criminals into society (e.g. *Die Rheinisch-Westfälische Gefängnisgesellschaft*, 1826; *Der Verein zur Fürsorge für entlassene Strafgefangene und sittliche Verwahrlosete zu Lübeck*, 1841); associations to support the religious life of German Protestants who had immigrated to North America and South America, as well as those who were living abroad in England, France, Russia, and in the Ottoman Empire (e.g. *Der Verein zur Beförderung der evangelischen Gemeinde Brasiliens*, Berlin 1828, *Die evangelische Gesellschaft für die protestantischen Deutschen in Amerika*, Barmen, 1837; *Der deutsche Kirchenverein in Hull für deutsche Seeleute*, 1844; *Das evangelische Asyl in Constantinopel*, 1844); associations to visit and care for the sick in their homes (e.g. *Der Berliner Männer-Krankenverein*, 1833); associations to cultivate the religious lives of trade apprentices, journeymen, and maids (e.g. *Der Sonntagssaal*

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<sup>8</sup> Friedrich Löwe, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben und Wirken des Johann Wilhelm Rautenberg* (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1866), p. 61.

<sup>9</sup> Regina Bohl, 'Die Sonntagsschule in der Hamburger Vorstadt St Georg (1825-1853)', *ZVHG*, 67 (1981), pp. 133-75 (pp. 136-37).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

*für Erwachsene zu Schmieden in Basel*, 1832; *Der Hannover Gesellenverein*, 1840; *Der christliche Jünglingsverein zu Stettin*, 1847); associations to promote Christianity among sailors and railroad workers (*Der Rostocker Verein für die Seeleute*, 1845; *Die kirchliche Fürsorge für Eisenbahn-Unterbeamte* (Berlin), 1848); and associations that sought to coordinate all of the preceding types of ministry within a particular geographic area (e.g. *Der Verein für innere Mission in Mecklenburg*, 1844; *Der evangelische Verein in Heidelberg*, 1845).

We noted in the previous chapter how the University of Göttingen theologian Friedrich Lücke coined the term ‘*innere Mission*,’ in 1842 in the context of discussing his hopes that there would be a religious revival in Germany comparable to the Methodist movement within the eighteenth-century Church of England. However, it was the Hamburg minister and University of Berlin graduate Johann Hinrich Wichern who in 1844 popularised the idea that all of the aforementioned ‘endeavours, associations, and institutions that are working to resolve the distresses within Christendom’ constituted an ‘*innere Mission*’ to the German people.<sup>11</sup> Five years later in 1849, along with the University of Bonn and University of Berlin law professors August Bethmann-Hollweg and Friedrich Julius Stahl, Wichern became one of the ten founders of the Central Committee of the Inner Mission, whose purpose was to provide better national coordination of the efforts of all those societies, associations, and institutions that were working to evangelise Germany through charity and social reforms. According to the Central Committee, ‘The objective of the *innere Mission* is the salvation of the Protestant people [*evangelischen Volkes*] from their physical and spiritual destitution through the proclamation of the gospel and the extension of a brotherly helping hand in

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<sup>11</sup> Wichern did this through the new religious periodical that he began to edit in 1844, *Fliegende Blätter aus dem Rauhen Hause zu Horn bei Hamburg: Mittheilungen über alle, dem Gebiet der innern Mission angehörende Bestrebungen, Vereine, Anstalten zur Hebung der Nothstände innerhalb der Christenheit*. This periodical was published under this title until 1905 and then under a number of successor titles through 2006: *Die Innere Mission im evangelischen Deutschland: Organ des Central-Ausschusses und des Central-Verbandes für die Innere Mission der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche*, 1906-31; *Die Innere Mission: Zeitschrift des Diakonischen Werkes Innere Mission und Hilfswerk der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland*, 1932-74; *Diakonie: Theorien, Erfahrungen, Impulse, Zeitschrift des Diakonischen Werkes der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland und des Europäischen Verbandes für Diakonie*, 1975-2006.

Christian love.’<sup>12</sup> The remainder of this chapter analyses how Christian caritas became rationalised by first discussing four factors which prompted awakened Protestants to commence their manifold social reform initiatives. The first two of these were immediate: wars and famines between 1805 and 1817, while the second two were gradual: rapid population growth and urbanisation between 1815 and 1850. We will then consider several examples of how several different new ministries began and how they proceeded to develop into rationalised enterprises.

## **6.1 Social and economic factors that prompted the creation of new religious societies for social reform**

Awakened Protestants’ created their initial institutions and organisations for social reform in response to a period of considerable unrest. During the quarter-century between the storming of the Bastille in 1789 and the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 a unique coalescence of military, political, and ecological disasters befell the German people, which resulted in widespread suffering, the degree and extent of which had not been experienced in Germany since the Thirty Years’ War. Indeed, David A. Bell has described these decades as having witnessed ‘the first total war’ in the modern world and estimated that between these years, nearly five million European soldiers and civilians perished in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.<sup>13</sup>

On 23 October 1805, Johann-Heinrich Jung, the supreme state councillor of the Grand Duke of Baden wrote a letter to Karl Friedrich Steinkopf, who was then the pastor of a German congregation in London. Both of these men were members of the Christianity Society and had previously worked together with the British Religious Tract Society to distribute such literature in Germany. In his letter, Jung described some of the hardships that many of their countrymen were then experiencing in Germany. He appealed to Steinkopf to organise aid on their behalf in the United Kingdom.

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<sup>12</sup> August von Bethman-Hollweg, *Centrallausschuß für die innere Mission der deutschen evangelischen Kirche* (Berlin, 1849), p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> David A. Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon’s Europe and the Birth of Modern Warfare* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), p. 7.

But six weeks ago the Emperor Napoleon was at Boulogne; and now he is in the heart of Bavaria at the head of 150,000 men; and the Austrian army is either killed, taken prisoner, or dispersed. How will this end! The whole of Germany and the northern nations are in arms... Last summer there was such a scarcity in several parts of Saxony, Lusatia, Silesia, Bohemia, Austria, and other neighbouring provinces, that many baked bran for bread, and used grass for vegetables; some people even went to the those places where the dead horses were thrown, and fed upon their flesh! Now, in addition to the usual population of the country, there are 150,000 men coming from the west, and more than 100,000 from the east, who must also be fed; and in the northern parts the harvest has again been very scanty. My very heart bleeds at the sight of this universal distress. Oh that some relief might be afforded us! And perhaps our hopes of receiving some assistance from England may not be disappointed.<sup>14</sup>

In the following months, Steinkopf, the former secretary of the Christianity Society, received a steady stream of letters of a similar nature from cities in Bavaria, Hannover, Saxony, and Württemberg that all implored him for aid. For example, a 3 January 1806 letter from Erfurt enumerated some of the problems then prevalent there.

You know how much our manufactures had already suffered during the last war, and that a great number of workmen are deprived of their subsistence. This distress has of late been constantly increasing, so that all commerce is at a stand. Since the last fairs of Frankfurt and Leipzig, the manufacturers have been obliged to discharge their remaining workmen and now their families are abandoned to hunger and despair... Much has been added to this distress by the late bad harvest. In the hilly parts of the country all the potatoes were spoiled by the frost... What these poor people are to do when the little store of corn is consumed, or all delivered to the military magazines, nobody knows; without hope they are abandoned to perish by hunger... We now often hear of persons who have put an end to their lives. One man, a father of six children, has swallowed poison and another, the father of five, has hanged himself.<sup>15</sup>

Likewise, Two weeks later, a letter arrived from the mayor of Hannover that lamented how for:

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<sup>14</sup> 'Distress in Germany!! Copies of letter relative to the Sufferings of the People in Germany', *EM*, 13 (1805), pp. 569-70.

<sup>15</sup> The Committee for the Relief of Distress in Germany and Other Parts of the Continent, 'Second Report of the Committee for Relieving the Distressed Inhabitants of Germany, and Other Parts of the Continent', (London, 1806), p. 1.

Nearly thirty-two months we have now sighed under the burden of hostile, neutral, and friendly troops quartered upon us, whereby the physical strength of our country (which in itself is not rich) has been exhausted. But the most formidable enemy, which now threatens us, is famine, as the last harvest has quite failed; potatoes, vegetables, and fruits are now nearly consumed. May God have mercy upon us and help us.<sup>16</sup>

In response to such plaintive correspondence, Steinkopf co-founded along with 17 other members of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Committee for Relieving the Distressed Inhabitants of Germany. Between November 1805 and 1815 it raised and disbursed a total of nearly £215,000 to 246 cities and towns in Germany, an amount equivalent to approximately £180 million in today's (2015) money. Localities in Saxony received 16% of this aid, Hamburg 12%, Brandenburg 11%, Hannover 11%, Thuringia 11%, Silesia 10%, Leipzig 8%, Lusatia 8%, and the final 13% went to a number of other German territories including Bavaria, Hesse, Holstein, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, and Pomerania.<sup>17</sup>

Following the pivotal victory of the forces of the Sixth Coalition at the Battle of Leipzig (16-19 October 1813), and the capitulation of the French army fortified in Hamburg on 27 May 1814, all French forces quitted German territory and the Wars of Liberation were successfully concluded. After Napoleon was finally defeated at the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815 and exiled to St. Helena, the Allies and the restored Bourbon Kingdom of France signed the 20 November 1815 Treaty of Paris. Under the terms of this treaty France was required to pay 750 million French francs (29.2 million British pounds, a sum equivalent to £24.4 billion in 2015 money) as compensation to the nations of Europe. In aggregate, the antecedent states of the German Empire of 1871 were awarded 41% of the French indemnity: 197 million francs in cash reparations, plus 110 million francs for the construction of fortifications along the French borders (11.9 million pounds in total, £10 billion in 2015 money). This share was more than twice that which any other country received: Great Britain, 16.7%, Austria and Russia 15% each, the Netherlands 11%, and Sardinia, Spain, Switzerland, Denmark, and Portugal 2% or

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> For a full discussion of the Committee for the Relief of Distress in Germany, see Andrew Kloes, 'The Committee for the Relief of Distress in Germany', *PuN*, 40 (2014), pp. 163-201.

less.<sup>18</sup> The large sums that were awarded to the various German states reflected both the number of soldiers that they had provided and the international expectation that they would play important roles in maintaining the peace during the following years; indirectly, they suggest how great an impact these wars had had on the life of the German people.

Compounding the difficulties of war were the challenges posed by poor harvests and changes in weather patterns. These were as significant to the daily lives of most people as were the great battles, if not more so. Forensic climatologists have concluded that unusually high levels of global volcanic activity during the early years of the nineteenth century increased the percentage of particulates in the upper atmosphere to a such a degree that significantly less sunlight reached the earth, making the decade-and-a-half between 1805 and 1820 the coldest years of the so-called Little Ice Age of 1300-1850.<sup>19</sup> The explosion of Mount Tambora in present-day Indonesia on 10-11 April 1815 was the largest volcanic eruption in recorded human history and an event that had dire consequences for a German population who had only just begun to recover from the war.<sup>20</sup>

One scholar has gone so far as to describe 1816 as having witnessed ‘the last great subsistence crisis in the Western world’, the climax of a series of famines caused by this episode of climatological chaos.<sup>21</sup> This year was extraordinarily cold and wet, a meteorological combination that proved disastrous for grain yields. By the spring of 1817, the price of grain in German-speaking Europe had increased by 200-300% from 1815 levels, at which time the common people were already spending between 25-50% of their annual income to buy their daily bread.<sup>22</sup> Conditions deteriorated so markedly in

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<sup>18</sup> ‘State Papers - Convention with France,’ *The European Magazine and London Review*, 69 (1816), pp. 159-62.

<sup>19</sup> H. H. Lamb, *Climate, History and the Modern World* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 246-49; Brian Fagan, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History, 1300-1850* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), p. 170

<sup>20</sup> Richard B. Stothers, ‘The Great Tambora Eruption in 1815 and Its Aftermath,’ *Science*, 224 (1984), pp. 1191-98 (p. 1191)

<sup>21</sup> John D. Post, *The Last Great Subsistence Crisis in the Western World* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977).

<sup>22</sup> John D. Post, ‘The Economic Crisis of 1816-1817 and Its Social and Political Consequences,’ *The Journal of Economic History*, 30 (1970), pp. 248-50 (pp. 248-49).

parts of Bavaria and Württemberg that there were mass exoduses of thousands of peasants who left to start new colonies on the Atlantic Coast of Brazil and in Georgia in the Russian Empire.<sup>23</sup> When the German people commemorated the tercentenary of the beginning of the Reformation in October 1817, the more immediate cause for celebration was a plentiful harvest after the most severe year of famine in living memory.<sup>24</sup>

It is important to mark how awakened Protestants' efforts to spread the Christian faith also occurred during a particular moment in the demographic history of Germany. Their social concerns coincided with a period of overall rapid population growth. In 1750, there were 17.4 million people living in the lands that later constituted the German Empire of 1871. During the following 65 years, this figure grew by 7 million and in 1815 the total population of Germany was 24.3 million. It then took only another 25 years for Germany to realise another net increase of 7 million people. By 1840, the total population had risen to 31.3 million.<sup>25</sup>

A comparison of the Prussian state censuses for the years 1817 and 1846 furnish examples of the rapid pace of urbanisation over this period. The 1817 census reported a total population of 10,536,571 in the Hohenzollern domains. However it listed only 29 settlements that had more than 10,000 inhabitants and only five in which more than 50,000 people dwelled: Danzig (52,821), Cologne (54,938), Königsberg (63,239), Breslau (76,813), and Berlin (188,485).<sup>26</sup> By 1846, the population of the kingdom had grown to 16,112,938 (a 53% increase in total population), while three of its five largest cities had grown at even faster rates: Danzig (66,827; 27% increase), Königsberg (75,417; 19% increase), Cologne (90,246; 64% increase), Breslau (169,311; 120%

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<sup>23</sup> Patrick Webb, 'Emergency Relief during Europe's Famine of 1817-Anticipated Crisis Response Mechanisms of Today', *The Journal of Nutrition*, 132 (2002), pp. 2092-95 (p. 2093).

<sup>24</sup> James J. Sheehan, *German History: 1770-1866* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 452.

<sup>25</sup> Ulrich Pfister and Georg Fertig, 'The Population History of Germany: Research Strategy and Preliminary Results' (Max-Planck-Institut für demographische Forschung: <http://www.demogr.mpg.de/papers/working/wp-2010-035.pdf>), accessed 26 August 2014.

<sup>26</sup> *Uebersicht der Bodenfläche und Bevölkerung des preußischen Staats: Aus den für das Jahr 1817 amtlich eingezogen Nachrichten* (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1819), pp. 39-47.



increase), and Berlin (408,502; 117% increase).<sup>27</sup> Even more significantly, the 1846 census revealed that the age distribution of Prussia's population was highly skewed towards the young: 26.6% of its population was under the age of ten, 46.6% was under the age of 20, and 63.9% and was under the age of 30. This means that nearly two-thirds of the people who were living in Prussia in 1846 had been born after the Awakening movement began circa 1815.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the dramatic rhetoric that awakened Protestants often used to speak about the urgent need to tell the gospel to people in Germany who had never before heard it reflected not only their religious zeal, but also their accurate assessments of contemporary population growth trends.

## 6.2 New religious institutions for social reform

One of the first awakened Protestant attempts to address the sufferings caused by the Napoleonic Wars was begun in Berlin in 1807 by Baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz. The Kottwitz family was among the ancient nobility of Silesia and could trace its origins to the early thirteenth century.<sup>29</sup> The baron's father, Adam Melchior, forged a close relationship with Friedrich II of Prussia following his annexation of Silesia in 1741. In 1770, he sent his thirteen-year-old son to Potsdam to serve as a page at the royal court.<sup>30</sup> As the only surviving male heir among his seventeen siblings, Kottwitz inherited vast estates upon the death of his father in 1777. He further increased his wealth through his 1783 marriage to Charlotte Helene, Countess of Zedlitz.<sup>31</sup> After studying law at the University of Frankfurt (Oder) from 1777-80, Kottwitz settled on his family's lands and through his friendship with Bishop August Spangenberg he became a member of the Moravian Brethren in 1789.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Die Bevölkerung des preußischen Staats nach der amtlichen Aufnahme des Jahres 1846* (Berlin: Verlag der Nicolai'schen Buchhandlung, 1848), pp. 10-14.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>29</sup> Peter Maser, 'Hinweise zur Familiengeschichte des Barons Hans Ernst von Kottwitz (1757-1843)', *JSKG*, 71 (1992), pp. 121-38 (p. 123).

<sup>30</sup> Peter Maser, *Hans Ernst von Kottwitz: Studien zur Erweckungsbewegung des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts in Schlesien und Berlin* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1990) pp. 14-15.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>32</sup> Maser, *Hans Ernst von Kottwitz*, p. 45.

In order to reduce the number of beggars in the area, Kottwitz implemented a 'humanitarian' social experiment on his lands in 1795.<sup>33</sup> He built a 'weaver's colony' where unemployed individuals and their families could live without paying rent, while working to grow flax and process it into linen cloth. Kottwitz subsidised this enterprise for 11 years, which provided sustenance for 17 families.<sup>34</sup> However, he was unable to sustain its unprofitability indefinitely. The outbreak of war in 1805 badly damaged the Silesian economy and in 1806 Kottwitz became bankrupt. He had to sell his estates to clear his debts. Kottwitz then left Silesia and resettled in Berlin.<sup>35</sup> Not long after his arrival in the Prussian capital, the once vaunted Prussian army was decisively defeated by French forces at the Battle of Jena on 14 October 1806. Following the evaporation of virtually all military resistance, Napoleon entered Berlin through the Brandenburg Gate in triumph on 27 October 1806.

A consequence of this upheaval was that many mills and factories ceased to receive orders for their goods and without employment, hundreds of workers were reduced to begging to feed their families.<sup>36</sup> Kottwitz responded to this crisis in the same way as he had on his estates. In January 1807, he began to invite unemployed workers and their families to live with him in his new home, where he gave them an opportunity to earn an income by spinning flax and wool.<sup>37</sup> In order to accommodate more people, Kottwitz then procured a disused military barracks on what is now Alexanderplatz in central Berlin and relocated his 'voluntary workhouse' (*freiwillige Armenbeschäftigungsanstalt*) there on 1 October 1808.<sup>38</sup> To better care for the large numbers of families who were streaming to his workhouse, Kottwitz added a school and

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<sup>33</sup> August Schulze, *Baron Ernst von Kottwitz* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1903), p. 14.

<sup>34</sup> Maser, *Hans Ernst von Kottwitz*, p. 48.

<sup>35</sup> Peter Maser, 'Berathung der Armuth': *das soziale Wirken des Barons Hans Ernst von Kottwitz zwischen Aufklärung und Erweckungsbewegung in Berlin and Schlesien* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1991), p. 67.

<sup>36</sup> Krebs, *Geschichte der von Kottwitzschen Armen-Beschäftigungs-Anstalt* (Berlin, 1848), p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> Uta Motschmann, 'Armensbeschäftigungsanstalt', in *Handbuch der Berliner Vereine und Gesellschaften 1786–1815*, ed. by Uta Motschmann (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), pp. 921–26.

<sup>38</sup> Maser, 'Berathung der Armuth': *das soziale Wirken des Barons Kottwitz*, p. 17, p. 25; Ernst Ferdinand Klein, *Baron Kottwitz, der Vater der Arbeitslosen vor 100 Jahren* (Berlin: Acker Verlag, 1932), pp. 16–17.

hospital in 1809.<sup>39</sup> Kottwitz reported that 300 people had taken refuge in his institution in 1808, 473 in 1811, 500 in 1817, 810 in 1820, 500 in 1823, and 559 in 1834.<sup>40</sup>

Given his station in life as a nobleman, it is not surprising that Kottwitz' philosophy of ministry to poor people was a type of Christian paternalism. He wrote in 1809 that as a matter of public policy, those who were able to work, but simply refused to do so, should not be permitted to beg, but ought to be confined to workhouses until their experience there taught them to change their ways. However, he acknowledged that most people were destitute not through any fault or moral failing of their own and thus ought 'to be treated according to their dignity as human beings.'<sup>41</sup> By providing those in need of assistance with an opportunity to work in return for their room, board, and a small daily wage, Kottwitz believed that he provided an honourable temporary solution to those who had fallen on hard times as well as an opportunity for those who formerly had been indigent to reform themselves and establishes habits that would enable them to become self-sufficient.

Most unusually for someone of his class, from 1808 until his death in 1843, Kottwitz lived in the barracks alongside the several thousand poor people whom he supported over these decades. By this time his own marriage had collapsed because his wife did not share his religious beliefs and strongly disagreed with the amount of money that he spent on charity, particularly as this threatened the integrity of their land holdings.<sup>42</sup> According to one state official's 1848 report, nearly half of the 257 families (1,614 individuals) who had sought assistance at Kottwitz's workhouse between 1826 and 1845 used their stay as a time to recover and to work to transition themselves back to economic independence. There were 22 families (8.5%) that stayed there for less than 12 months and 98 families (38.1%) that stayed for between one and five years. The remainder, including 33 widows, stayed in the workhouse much longer. There were 94

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>40</sup> Maser, '*Berathung der Armuth*': *das soziale Wirken des Barons Kottwitz*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>41</sup> Hans Ernst von Kottwitz, *Ueber Armenwesen* (Berlin, 1809), p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> Maser, *Hans Ernst von Kottwitz*, pp. 38-39.

families (36.6%) that stayed between five and ten years and 43 families (16.7%) that stayed for more than ten years.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to his workhouse, Kottwitz was actively involved in the evangelistic religious societies of Berlin. He was a founding director of the Prussian Central Bible Society in 1814 and of the Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews in 1822.<sup>44</sup> In 1824, he published a confession of his faith in which he outlined his personal religious views. Herein he sharply criticised the leaders of the Protestant churches of Germany for the dearth of ‘Christian faith and obedience’ among their members. He lamented how ‘the houses of God are becoming less and less attended and the people more and more heathen as the Christian instruction of the youth is neglected.’<sup>45</sup> Kottwitz especially bemoaned the state of the Protestant universities. ‘Where can one find a theological faculty that is still truly Christian? Where are we to expect that teachers for Protestant churches and schools will come from?’<sup>46</sup> He answered that the solution was not for the Protestants who had these concerns to ‘abandon their Confessions’ and join the Roman Catholic Church, but rather to work together with likeminded believers for the reform of their churches. ‘We must seek our salvation in the redemption that has already taken place in Jesus Christ. In obedience, we must diligently embrace Christ’s teachings as they pertain to all things.’<sup>47</sup> These beliefs motivated his charitable endeavours.

Kottwitz made his most significant contributions to the Awakening movement through the lasting impression that his example of Christian service to the poor at great personal cost made on many Prussian leaders. Among those who regularly attended the prayer meetings that he led at the workhouse every Wednesday and Sunday evening were five members of the theological faculty of the University of Berlin: August Neander, August Tholuck, Ernst Hengstenberg, Justus Jacobi, and Friedrich Abraham Strauß, as well as the following individuals who were or later became state officials:

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<sup>43</sup> Krebs, *Geschichte der Armen-Beschäftigungs-Anstalt*, p. 14.

<sup>44</sup> Uta Motschmann, ‘Armensbeschäftigungsanstalt’, p. 925.

<sup>45</sup> Maser, Peter, ‘Das “Glaubens-Bekenntnis” des Barons Hans Ernst von Kottwitz Text und Einführung’, *JSKG*, 68 (1989), pp. 83-104 (p. 95).

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

Anton, Count of Stolberg-Wernigerode, General Adolf Eduard von Thile, August von Bethmann-Hollweg, Friedrich Focke, Ludwig, Ernst and Otto von Gerlach, and Johann Hinrich Wichern.<sup>48</sup> When he was a 21-year-old student at the University of Berlin in 1840, Philip Schaff met Kottwitz, then aged 83, at one of these prayer meetings. He later described his encounter in the account of the Awakening movement that he wrote for an American audience in 1857.

I never met a man who seemed so nearly to approach the ideal of a Protestant saint...He pointed young divines to the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world, and to his everlasting Gospel as the only source of true theology and usefulness in the Church...He may be regarded as one of the lay-fathers of the modern evangelical theology of Germany. It was impossible to resist the influence of the purity and simplicity of his character, and his ardent love to God and man... His whole life was a course of unostentatious, disinterested benevolence, an imitation of Him who went about doing good and sacrificed himself for the salvation of the world.<sup>49</sup>

Kottwitz and the work of his institution became known more widely throughout Germany as he exchanged letters with 179 correspondents, including the directors of the missionary training institutes in Basel and Barmen, Christian Spittler and Ignaz Lindl.<sup>50</sup>

However, at an operational level, Kottwitz' workhouse was an economically unsuccessful, and ultimately, an unviable enterprise. The sale of the cloth that his workers produced was never able to earn enough profit to pay for the expenses that Kottwitz incurred to care for those who lived there. His ability to make up from his own resources the annual deficits of his institution ended in 1823. In this year the Prussian state assumed administration of the workhouse and retained Kottwitz as its director.<sup>51</sup> The workhouse remained open for twelve years after his death before closing its doors

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<sup>48</sup> Walter Wendland, 'Studien zur Erweckungsbewegung in Berlin (1810-1830)', *JBKG*, 19 (1924), pp. 5-77 (p. 10-11).

<sup>49</sup> Philip Schaff, *Germany; Its Universities, Theology, and Religion* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857), pp. 280-81.

<sup>50</sup> Friedrich Kantzenbach, ed., *Baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz und die Erweckungsbewegung in Schlesien, Berlin und Pommern* (Ulm: Unser Weg Verlag, 1963), pp. 223-51.

<sup>51</sup> Bosse, 'Hans Ernst Freiherr von Kottwitz', *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, XI (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902), pp. 48-53 (p. 52).

on 1 October 1855.<sup>52</sup> Other awakened Protestants were much more successful in rationalising the administration of their charities. They emulated the organisational structures that were used by the evangelistic societies and adopted their practices of producing annual reports to publicise their work and to solicit donations.

In 1813, Johannes Falk founded the first religious voluntary society of the Awakening movement that was dedicated to social amelioration.<sup>53</sup> Falk was born in Danzig in 1768 and became a writer after studying theology at the University of Halle. He settled in Weimar in 1797, where he joined Goethe's literary coterie.<sup>54</sup> During the Napoleonic Wars the Duke of Weimar appointed him to a government post as a translator and diplomat in 1806. As his biographer Johannes Demandt has noted, between 1811 and 1813 Falk's religious views underwent a conservative transformation as he studied the New Testament and read the works of the French Roman Catholic archbishop François Fénelon.<sup>55</sup>

Following both the Battle of Leipzig in October 1813 and the deaths of four of his own children from fever in that same year, Falk founded a society to care for orphans that he called '*die Gesellschaft der Freunde in der Not*' (the society for friends in need).<sup>56</sup> Falk linked its social goals to those of the preceding century's Pietist movement. 'We strive to walk in the footsteps of Christ, just as did that old hero of the faith, Franke, the founder of the orphanage at Halle.'<sup>57</sup> In 1823, he equated the first ten years of his society's activities to those of contemporary German missionaries. 'The chief purpose of our association has been a kind of missionary work. We strive for the conversion of the heathen and for the salvation of their souls, but not of those who are in Asia and Africa, but of those who are here in Saxony and Prussia.'<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Walter Wendland, *Die Entwicklung der christlichen Liebestätigkeit in Groß-Berlin vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Wichern Verlag, 1939), p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Gerhard Uhlhorn, *Die christliche Liebesthätigkeit seit der Reformation* (Stuttgart: D. Gundert, 1890), pp. 342-43.

<sup>54</sup> Adalbert Elschenbroich, 'Johannes Falk', *NDB*, IV (1959), 749-50.

<sup>55</sup> Johannes Demandt, 'Johannes Daniel Falks Verhältnis zum christlichen Glauben', *PuN* 33 (2007), pp. 148-65 (pp. 155-56).

<sup>56</sup> Heinrich Döring, 'Johannes Falk', *ADB* VI (1877), 244-46.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11, p. 70.

<sup>58</sup> Friedrich Oldenberg, *Das Leben des Johannes Falk* (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1854), p. 26.

In response to how fighting had left numerous children in the villages around Weimar destitute, Falk organised efforts to place approximately one hundred orphaned boys and one hundred orphaned girls in the homes of master craftsmen and their families. The boys were apprenticed for four years to a variety of trades (e.g. baking, butchery, carpentry, locksmithing, shoemaking, tailoring, weaving, wagon-wheel making) and the girls were taught to spin wool and flax into thread, to sew, and to knit.<sup>59</sup> Falk explained that by financially facilitating such familial arrangements it was his society's intention to provide vulnerable children with a 'practical-Christian upbringing [*christlich-praktische Volkserziehung*]' in which they would be given three keys: 'a key to the cupboard, a key to the wardrobe, and a key to the kingdom of heaven.'<sup>60</sup> In order to provide the children with Christian religious instruction and spiritual formation, the society organised Sunday afternoon gatherings, which it called its '*Sonntags-Schule*'.<sup>61</sup> Here the children were taught from the Bible and the writings of Augustine, Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, and Johann Gerhardt.<sup>62</sup> 'It greatly pleases us to see the fear of God reawakened in the hearts of many children that were formerly ice cold and dead.'<sup>63</sup>

The society's undertakings were coordinated by a central committee that solicited and managed donations from dozens of towns and villages in the grand duchy and issued regular reports to its donors.<sup>64</sup> Falk standardised the process of placing orphans with master craftsman by creating two template contracts in which the society made promises of financial support to the masters and educational support to the children and both parties promised to fulfil certain obligations to each other and to the society. Principally, these were that the masters would teach their charges their trade, provide for their physical needs, and permit them to attend the society's religious

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<sup>59</sup> Johannes Falk, *Aufruf, zunächst an die Landstände des Großherzogtums Weimar und sodann an das ganze deutsche Volk und dessen Fürsten, über eine der schauderhaftesten Lücken unserer Gesetzgebungen, die durch die traurige Verwechslung von Volkserziehung mit Volksunterricht entstanden ist* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1818), p. 31.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-50.

activities, while the children promised their obedience to both their masters and the society.<sup>65</sup>

In 1818 Johannes Falk appealed for more funds from his donors in order to enable his society to expand its work. In the following booklet Falk explained his plans to acquire a building to extend the scope of his ministries: *A Call to the estates of the Grand Duchy of Weimar, and to the entire German people and its princes, regarding the most horrifying omissions in our laws, which have been caused by the regrettable confusion of upbringing [Volkserziehung] with instruction [Volksunterricht]*.<sup>66</sup> Herein, Falk described to potential financial backers the institute that he had in mind as ‘*einem Institut, für eine wahrhaft practisch christliche Volkserziehung*’ (‘an institution to provide the common people with a truly practical Christian education’), and as ‘*einer frommen Missionsanstalt*, (‘a pious missionary institution’).<sup>67</sup>

He lamented that such an institution had become necessary because of how public morality had collapsed ‘during the last three decades [c.1790-1820]’.<sup>68</sup> He asked rhetorically: ‘How many fathers nowadays hold daily family worship with their children and their servants? How many new bathhouses and public toilets have opened where youths go to fornicate with each other? How many taverns have opened, where, without parental supervision, youths go to dance? How many new theatres and places to drink liquor have opened? How high has the number of out-of-wedlock births climbed?’<sup>69</sup> Falk was especially perturbed by how many ‘*aufgeklärten Männer*’ and ‘rich Jews’ were buying old churches and either tearing them down to build new businesses or converting them into ‘distilleries to manufacture beer and liquor’.<sup>70</sup> He noted that such problems

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pp. 43-49.

<sup>66</sup> Johannes Falk, *Aufruf, zunächst an die Landstände des Großherzogtums Weimar und sodann an das ganze deutsche Volk und dessen Fürsten, über eine der schauderhaftesten Lücken unserer Gesetzgebungen, die durch die traurige Verwechslung von Volkserziehung mit Volksunterricht entstanden ist* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1818).

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 1 and p. 25.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 7.



had spread across the Western world ‘like a plague from the time of Frederick the Great’, to that of American and French Revolutions, down to Napoleon.<sup>71</sup>

Falk believed that his society would be more capable of counteracting what he regarded as these moral dangers by erecting an institution dedicated to the care and education of orphans, which would also train teachers in the best practices of how to do so. In an 1819 letter Falk expressed his optimism that ‘from the Rhine to the Elbe to the Danube, God will soon send apostles to awaken Germany’ and that the evangelism of children would be a significant part of this.<sup>72</sup> ‘The rebirth of the people must begin with its youth. Europe, “learned Christian Europe,” must now once again come back to its old historic foundations and learn in its schools to bow before the name of Christ. If our pride prevents us from doing so, then God will surely humiliate us by the hands of a people that does bow before him, that all who live to see it will be greatly horrified.’<sup>73</sup> During the final five years of his life, Falk worked to build the kind of institution that he had described. He opened ‘Lutherhof’, named after Martin Luther, in 1821 and before his death in 1826 he managed to take in and educate 245 children, including six who later completed university studies.<sup>74</sup> Other institutions for the education and spiritual formation of poor children and for the training of teachers like the one that Falk founded in Weimar were independently created by other awakened Protestants in other areas of Germany. Incrementally, the operations of these institutions became more and more rationalised.

One of those who read Falk’s 1818 pamphlet was the Westphalian nobleman Adalbert, Count of Recke-Volmerstein.<sup>75</sup> In the 24 February 1819 edition of a local newspaper (*Hermann: Zeitschrift von und für Westfalen, oder der Lande zwischen Weser und Maas*), the count placed an advertisement to announce that he wished to

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>72</sup> Rosalie Falk, *Johannes Falk : Erinnerungsblätter aus Briefen und Tagebüchern* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1868), pp. 99.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>74</sup> Annette Seemann, *Weimar: Ein Kulturgeschichte* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2012), pp. 157-58.

<sup>75</sup> Karl Schöpff and Walther Vogel, *Ein Menschenfreund: Adelberdt Graf von der Recke von Volmerstein, sein Lebensbild und Lebenswerk* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1922), p. 67.

found an ‘institution for the care and education [*Bildung*] of neglected children’.<sup>76</sup> In addition to providing for the basic bodily needs of food and shelter, the religious dimension of the kind of institute that Recke-Volmerstein had in mind may be seen in the remarks that he delivered in a subsequent solicitation for support. ‘Christians are people whom God has rescued out from under the rule of Satan and brought under the lordship of Christ [Colossians 1:13]. Formerly worldlings, we have been aroused from the sleep of sin and awakened to a new spiritual life, to a life of work as instruments of God’s will.’<sup>77</sup> The count emphasised to those who donated to his institution, that the poor children whom it looked after were being rescued from the devil through the physical care, education, and religious instruction which it provided them.<sup>78</sup> In light of Falk’s hostile remarks about ‘rich Jews’ buying disused churches and transforming them into distilleries, it is worth noting that in a follow-up notice in the 6 April 1819 edition of the *Hermann*, Recke-Volmerstein thanked Baron Kalman Mayer Rothschild for the 200 gold florins that he had given him for his institute. Furthermore, the count noted that Rothschild had promised to pay him another 60 thalers annually for the maintenance of every Jewish orphan that he accepted.<sup>79</sup> According to his most recent biographer, in 1820 Recke-Volmerstein coined the term, ‘*Rettungsanstalt*’ to describe the institute that he had opened in the town of Overdyk on 19 November 1819.<sup>80</sup>

Count von der Recke was adept at utilising the publicity and fundraising methods that had been pioneered by missionary societies to solicit support for the work of his institute. In 1819 he published a pamphlet calling for the creation of a ‘Society of Philanthropists in Germany’ (*Gesellschaft der Menschenfreunde in Deutschland*), for the purposes of ‘the salvation and upbringing of abandoned orphans and child criminal

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., pp. 67-68.

<sup>77</sup> Gerlinde Viertel, *Anfänge der Rettungshausbewegung unter Adelberdt Graf von der Recke-Volmerstein (1791-1878): Eine Untersuchung zu Erweckungsbewegung und Diakonie* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1993), p. 187.

<sup>78</sup> Adalbert Graf von der Recke-Volmerstein, *Zweiter und dritter Bericht an Alle Menschenfreunde in Deutschland; und Aufruf an Jeden, der heiliges Mitgefühl für fremdes Elend im liebenden Herzen nährt* (Düsseldorf: Buchdruckerei J. Wolf, 1823), p. 3.

<sup>79</sup> Schöpff and Vogel, *Ein Menschenfreund*, p. 69.

<sup>80</sup> Viertel, *Anfänge der Rettungshausbewegung*, pp. 191-92.

delinquents and for sending out missionaries into the workhouses.’<sup>81</sup> In the bylaws that he wrote for his new society he detailed his plans to feed, clothe, and house such children in a disused monastery that he had acquired and to teach them basic literacy, numeracy, and Christian doctrine until they reached the age of 14, when they were to be catechised in ‘the confessional tradition into which they had been born.’<sup>82</sup> Like Falk, Recke-Volmerstein planned to equip his charges with the ability to practice a trade by apprenticing them to master craftsmen. Beginning in 1822, he published annual reports of the work of his *Rettungsanstalt* that featured profiles of each of the children then resident there. For example:

Titus is 7 years old. The young boy used to have to go begging with his mother who suffered badly from epilepsy. She was abandoned by her husband, a carpenter who had given himself over to drink. He came to us a very rough condition, but yet his temperament remains always cheerful. Because he seems desensitised to every kind of pain, the other boys have nicknames him ‘the Spartan’ and ‘the Cossack’. He is good-natured, undeterred, and eager to learn, although he is somewhat limited in his abilities. He has such bad feelings about his life as a beggar that he begins to cry whenever it is mentioned.<sup>83</sup>

Marianne is 6 years old. We took her in November 1821. She was conceived in sin, the second illegitimate child of her mother, who carried her children around with her as she peddled junk. Born in sin and surrounded by sin, there can be little doubt that she too would have fallen prey to sin herself as it enticed her from every direction. She was very nearly upon the path of her unfortunate mother, when we, trusting in God’s help, took her in. We soon discovered how dangerous it was to have her among the other children. She talked very much about her previous life and eagerly told them stories about the abominable things that she had witnessed. Therefore, we required her to take a vow of silence.<sup>84</sup>

In publishing dozens of such vignettes of children’s lives in every year’s annual report, the count sought to engender sympathy for their plight and elicit monetary donations to pay for their care.

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<sup>81</sup> Adalbert von der Recke-Volmerstein, *Die Gesellschaft der Menschenfreunde in Deutschland, oder deren Grundsätze zur Rettung und Erziehung verlassener Waisen- und Verbrecher-Kinder und der Aussendung von Missionarien in die Zuchthäuser* (Essen: G.D. Bädeker, 1819).

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

In order to raise additional funds for his *Rettungsanstalt*, between 1825 and 1866 Count von der Recke-Volmerstein and Friedrich Sander (a Lutheran minister in Wichlinghausen) published *Der Menschenfreund: eine christliche Zeitschrift* (*The Philanthropist: A Christian Magazine*).<sup>85</sup> This monthly periodical consisted of descriptions of the activities of his institution as well as those of the Bible, religious tract, and missionary societies, along with other essays on biblical, theological, and historical topics. This publication, which King Friedrich Wilhelm III permitted to be distributed through the Prussian postal system free of charge, promoted among awakened Protestants the idea that those who were working to evangelise poor people in Germany were doing essentially the same work as those missionaries who were going to non-Christian people groups in faraway lands.

The list of financial contributors printed in the 1837 annual report of the *Rettungsanstalt* demonstrates how within twenty years of its foundation, Recke-Volmerstein had succeeded in cultivating a wide network of support for the institution. That year he reported a total income of 4400 thaler, 20 groschen, and 1 pfennig from 725 sources.<sup>86</sup> The donations of 681 individuals from hundreds of German cities, towns, and villages between Bremen and Breslau, ranging from less than one thaler to 100 thaler represented 32.3% of the total giving.

	<b>Donors</b>	<b>Value of donations</b>	<b>Percentage of total</b>
Less than 1 th.	392	138 th. 2 gros. 0 pf.	3.1%
Between 1 and 2 th.	132	146 th. 2 gros. 0 pf.	3.3%
Between 2 and 5 th.	84	215 th. 0 gros. 7 pf.	4.9%
Between 5 and 10 th.	34	201 th. 10 gros. 11 pf.	4.6%
Between 10 and 20 th.	30	383 th. 22 gros. 0 pf.	8.7%
Between 20 and 50 th.	7	184 th. 20 gros. 0 pf.	4.2%
One person gave 54 th.	1	54 th. 0 gros. 0 pf.	1.2%
One person gave 100 th.	1	100 th. 0 gros. 0 pf.	2.3%
Totals	681	1422 th. 26 gros. 18 pf.	32.3%

<sup>85</sup> *Der Menschenfreund: eine christliche Zeitschrift*, 1-42, (1825-66); Viertel, *Anfänge der Rettungshausbewegung*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>86</sup> Adalbert Graf von der Recke-Volmerstein, *Achtzehnter und neunzehnter Bericht an Alle Menschenfreunde in Deutschland; und Aufruf an Jeden, der heiliges Mitgefühl für fremdes Elend im liebenden Herzen nährt* (Düsselthal: gedruckt in der Rettungs-Anstalt, 1838), pp. 8-42.

Members of the Prussian royal family gave a total of 180 thaler, 20 groschen (4.1%), while a women's society in Berlin collected 187 thaler on behalf of the *Rettungsanstalt* (4.2%). Other collections that were taken in Bochum, Bielefeld, Dorpat (in the Russian Empire), Münster, and Iserlohn raised another 153 thaler, 0 groschen, 14 pfennig (3.5%), while the interest generated by a capital investment that Recke-Volmerstein had made in Cologne yielded 143 thaler, 15 groschen, 5 pfennig (3.2%).

The year 1837 is a particularly interesting one to consider regarding the institute's finances because 51.3% of its total income came from Britain (England, 1417 thaler, 18 groschen, 6 pfennig, 32.1%; Scotland, 848 thaler, 25 groschen, 19.2%). These donations were given after many English and Scots read a book about the *Rettungsanstalt* that the Scottish author Mary Aikman had written using Recke-Volmerstein's reports and editions of the *Menschenfreund* as her sources.<sup>87</sup> Aikman lived in Leith, the harbour of Edinburgh, and had become interested in German Protestantism after meeting some Moravian missionaries whose ship had stopped there in 1813 during their return voyage home from their station in Greenland.<sup>88</sup> Her work, *Dusselthal Abbey: Count Von Der Recke's institutions for destitute orphans* was published in Edinburgh, Dublin, Glasgow, and London in 1836.<sup>89</sup> Groups of women in England and Scotland raised most of the money that was given to Recke-Volmerstein. By 1846, Count von der Recke-Volmerstein's annual reports showed that his institute enjoyed a network of support from across Europe. Of the 6,565 thaler that it received in that year, 68.2% came from cities, towns, and villages in Prussia, 16.6% from Britain,

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<sup>87</sup> Mary Aikman, *Dusselthal Abbey: Count Von Der Recke's institutions for destitute orphans* (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1836), p. 57, p. 86, p. 138, p. 155, p. 289.

<sup>88</sup> 'Miscellaneous Intelligence' *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen*, 22 (1856), p. 145.

<sup>89</sup> Sophie Monod-Peschier translated Aikman's book into French and published it in Geneva that same year as *L'Institut de Düsseldorf, fondé par le comte von der Recke, pour des orphelins*. In 1844 Aikman produced a second collection of sketches on the Rettungstalt: *Illustrations of faith: drawn from the history of the children's asylum at Dusselthal Abbey, and of other institutions, founded by Count von der Recke*.

7.7% from Saxony, 2.8% from elsewhere in Germany, 2.4% from Switzerland, and 2.3% from Denmark, France, and the Netherlands.<sup>90</sup>

A third institution for the care of poor children and the training of teachers like the ones that Falk and Recke-Volmerstein built in Weimar and outside Düsseldorf was founded by the Württemberg school inspector and member of the German Christianity Society Christian Heinrich Zeller, who, as Peter Maser notes, ‘was for many years a friend of Kottwitz’.<sup>91</sup> After visiting the recently established missionary training academy in Basel on 22 October 1816, Zeller recorded the thoughts that he had shared with the academy’s director, Christian Friedrich Spittler, as they strolled along the banks of the Rhine.

What joy and melancholy there was in our hearts as we walked together. We rejoiced not only for the newly awakened zeal among Protestants for missions to the heathen, for the eagerness to spread the gospel to all the nations that have for so long sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, but also for the alacrity with which contributions to the missionary training academy in Basel were being made. Yet at the same time, how melancholic did we feel when our thoughts turned towards the grievous state of many of the schools of our Fatherland, of the condition of so many poor and neglected children in both richer and poorer communities, and of the state of Christianity among the same. All around us were the scenes of autumn: the rustling of the leaves as they fell from the trees to be blown around about before settling on the ground to wilt and wither away. Just like this, it seemed to me as if the light of the gospel was also departing from our communities and that the flowers and fruits of evangelical life [*Blüte und Früchte des evangelischen Lebens*] were too withering away. The desire then came into our hearts to set up institutions with similar purposes to that of the missionary training academy in Basel for the benefit of our poor communities in Germany. Here Christian teachers could be trained to go to our poor children in the same spirit as those who are sent to the heathens.<sup>92</sup>

Four years later in 1820, Zeller opened such an institute in Beuggen, a village just outside of Basel, over the Rhine in Baden. He declared that just as German missionaries were operating schools for ‘thousands of children in India and hundreds of

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<sup>90</sup> Adalbert Graf von der Recke-Volmerstein, *Sieben-und-Zwanziger und acht-und-zwanziger Bericht an Alle Menschenfreunde in Deutschland; und Aufruf an Jeden, der heiliges Mitgefühl für fremdes Elend im liebenden Herzen nährt* (Düsseldorf: Buchdruckerei J. Wolf, 1847), pp. 32-33.

<sup>91</sup> Maser, *Hans Ernst von Kottwitz*, pp. 133-34.

<sup>92</sup> Heinrich W. J. Thiersch, *Christian Heinrich Zeller’s Leben*, I (Basel: Felix Schneider, 1876), p. 137.

children in Sierre Leone’ they ought to be doing the same for those ‘poor children in Germany’.<sup>93</sup> Zeller opened his school with donations that he had received from throughout Germany as well as with a grant of £100 from the British and Foreign School Society in London.<sup>94</sup> Like Falk and Recke-Volmerstein, Zeller stressed in his bylaws for the work of his institute that its purpose was the Christian spiritual formation and education of children who otherwise would not have such influences in their life. ‘This institute exists not only for the instruction of children [*Unterrichts-Anstalt*], but rather its purpose is to foster their complete education [*Bildungs-Anstalt*]...Its purpose is not merely to prepare the children for their life in society [*eine bürgerliche Bildungs-Anstalt seyn*], but is also to give them a Christian formation [*eine christliche Bildungs-Anstalt seyn*], one that is built on the foundation of the prophets and apostles and has Christ as its cornerstone.’<sup>95</sup>

Descriptions of Zeller’s work became widely publicised through reports of its activities that were regularly published in the magazine of the Christianity Society.<sup>96</sup> The dissemination of this news encouraged Protestants in other cities to form associations for similar purposes. His fifth annual report in 1825 announced that the institute had successfully trained 12 teachers who had gone out to work with poor children in Cologne, Frankfurt (Main), a number of villages in Switzerland, and even German settlements in the Crimea. It further noted that another 18 teachers were expected to soon complete their training.<sup>97</sup> In order to help his students and others replicate his work

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<sup>93</sup> ‘Erster Jahres-Bericht der freywilligen Armen-Schullehrer-Anstalt in Beuggen’, *SLchWG* 36 (1821), pp. 359-76 (pp. 359-60).

<sup>94</sup> Thomas Kuhn, *Religion und neuzeitliche Gesellschaft: Studien zum sozialen und diakonischen Handeln in Pietismus, Aufklärung und Erweckungsbewegung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), pp. 225-35; Hans Hauzenberger, *Basel und die Bibel: die Bibel als Quelle ökumenischer, missionarischer, sozialer und pädagogischer Impulse in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Basel: Helbing and Lichtenhahn Verlag, 1995), p. 185.

<sup>95</sup> ‘Die Armen-Kinder-Erziehungs- und freiwillige Armen-Schullehrer-Anstalt zu Beuggen bei Rheinfeldern im Großherzogthum Baden’, *Jahrbücher des preußischen Volksschulwesens* 8 (1827), pp. 143-55.

<sup>96</sup> ‘Zweyter Jahresbericht der freywilligen Armenschullehrer-Anstalt in Beuggen’, *SLchWG* 37 (1822), pp. 357-74; ‘Dritter Jahresbericht der freywilligen Armenschullehrer-Anstalt in Beuggen’, *SLchWG* 38 (1823), pp. 360-78; ‘Vierter Jahresbericht der freywilligen Armenschullehrer-Anstalt in Beuggen’, *SLchWG* 39 (1824), pp. 360-80.

<sup>97</sup> ‘Fünfter Jahresbericht der freywilligen Armenschullehrer-Anstalt in Beuggen’, *SLchWG* 40 (1825), pp. 361-84, (pp. 369-72).

among children in Beuggen, Zeller published in 1828 a three-volume set of 'methodological instructions,' which by 1883 had been republished five times.<sup>98</sup>

### 6.3 Women and the '*innere Mission*'

Significantly, the social reform and domestic evangelism work of the *innere Mission* presented women with their first opportunities to become involved in the Awakening movement in formal, organised capacities. In the early nineteenth century it was simply not possible for women to become either *Erweckungsprediger* or *Erweckungstheologe* because most German Protestants then believed that only men should exercise such ecclesiastical leadership roles.<sup>99</sup> However, in a fascinating study, the University of Zürich historian Erika Hebeisen has shown that in 1811 approximately 60% of the corresponding members of the German Christianity Society were women (2,400 of 4,000).<sup>100</sup> This statistic implies that the religious beliefs and goals of the Awakening movement resonated with many women, even though the leadership of the new evangelistic societies these remained exclusively male.

Following the death in 1810 of Queen Louise of Prussia, the wife of King Friedrich Wilhelm III, his younger brother's wife, Princess Marianne, became the most senior lady at the Prussian court. On 17 March 1813, the king issued an 'address to my people' that commanded his subjects to prepare for war against the French occupation. 'Brandenburgers, Prussians, Silesians, Pomeranians, Lithuanians...we now begin the final, decisive struggle for our existence, our independence, and our welfare.'<sup>101</sup> About a

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<sup>98</sup> Christian Zeller, *Lehren der Erfahrung für christliche Land- und Armen-Schullehrer: Eine Anleitung zunächst für die Zöglinge und Lehrschüler der freiwilligen Armen-Schullehrer-Anstalt in Beuggen* (Basel: Verlag des Vereins dieser Schulanstalt, 1828); Cf. Hui-Chung Ho, *Christian Heinrich Zellers Erziehungsdenken als Grundlage seiner Tätigkeit an der "freiwilligen Armen-Schullehrer-Anstalt" in Beuggen* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1989).

<sup>99</sup> Indeed, women were not even permitted to officially matriculate at any German university faculty of theology until 1900, and it was not until 1958 that any woman was ordained as a pastor in any of the Landeskirchen. Andrea Bieler, "*Darum wagt es, Schwestern ...*": *Zur Geschichte evangelischer Theologinnen in Deutschland* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1994), p. 20, p. 478.

<sup>100</sup> Erika Hebeisen, "Genealogisch: zur geschlechterspezifischen Tradierung der Deutschen Christentumsgesellschaft," in *Gendering Tradition: Erinnerungskultur und Geschlecht im Pietismus*, ed. by Ulrike Gleixner and Erika Hebeisen (Korb: Didymos Verlag, 2007), pp. 67-84 (p. 68).

<sup>101</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm III, 'An mein Volk', in *Deutsche Geschichte in Quellen und Darstellung*, VI: *Von der Französischen Revolution bis zum Wiener Kongreß 1789-1815*, ed. by Walter Demel und Uwe Puschner (Stuttgart: P. Reclam, 1995), pp. 413-16, (p. 416).



week later on 23 March 1813, Princess Marianne and eight other princesses published their ‘Address to the Women of the Prussian State’, in which they called for the creation of a nationwide ‘Women’s Association for the Welfare of the Fatherland’ (*ein Frauen-Verein zum Wohl des Vaterlandes*) to support the soldiers who were fighting for the ‘salvation of the Fatherland’ (*Rettung des Vaterlandes*).<sup>102</sup> In response, women throughout Prussia formed local societies to gather money and materials that were needed by the army.<sup>103</sup> The significant contributions of these societies impressed many and led Johann Klönne, a 25-year old candidate for Reformed pastoral ministry from Wesel (near the Dutch border), to publish a pamphlet in 1820 entitled *Regarding the revival of the ancient ecclesiastical office of the deaconess through our women’s associations*.<sup>104</sup>

Several books of the New Testament describe deacons as those early Christians who had been especially set apart by church leaders to look after the physical needs of the members of nascent Christian communities and to administer their charity (e.g. 1 Timothy 3:8-13, Philippians 1:1, ‘*die Diener*’ in Martin Luther’s translation). In particular, Klönne was intrigued by the biblical precedent of Phoebe, who was described in Romans 16:1 as the ‘deaconess of Cenchrea’ (‘*unsere Schwester, welche ist im Dienste der Gemeinde zu Kenchreä*’, per Luther). He proposed the creation of a Protestant ecclesiastical office of the deaconess, whose remit he envisioned as ‘the care of those members of their congregation who are in need, chiefly, those who are sick, widows, and orphans.’<sup>105</sup> Klönne recommended that every Protestant congregation should elect a group of deaconesses from among its female members to two-year terms of service in such a role. In Reformed churches that had a presbyterian form of ecclesiastical polity, the deaconesses were to be under the authority and supervision of

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<sup>102</sup> Marianne, Princess of Prussia, ‘Der Frauen-Verein zum Wohl des Vaterlandes’, in *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Inneren Mission*, ed. by M. Hennig (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1912), p. 110-11 (p. 110); Ute Frevert, *Die kasernierte Nation: Militärdienst und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2001), pp. 55-60.

<sup>103</sup> Ute Frevert, *Die kasernierte Nation: Militärdienst und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2001), pp. 55-60.

<sup>104</sup> Friedrich Klönne, *Über das Wiederaufleben der Diakonissinnen der altkirchlichen Kirche in unseren Frauenvereinen* (Leipzig, 1820).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

the congregation's elders ('*Presbyterii*').<sup>106</sup> Financially, Klönne proposed that deaconesses' work be paid for through 'the gifts and donations that they shall contribute themselves and collect from other women in the congregation, as well as from any other funds which the elders might be able to provide.'<sup>107</sup> Despite his youth and lack of ecclesiastical leadership experience at any level, Klönne called for the existing ecclesiastical authorities to enact his plans concerning deaconesses on a nationwide scale. He appealed directly to prominent figures in Prussia to lend their support to such efforts.

Klönne first wrote to Baron vom Stein zum Altenstein. Then in retirement, the former Prussian First Minister of State replied that while he was positively disposed towards Klönne's vision for a Protestant women's diaconate, he did not believe that the women's diaconate could be successfully introduced in the manner and on the scale that he had proposed. Stein suggested that if such a worthy goal were to be eventually realised, it was necessary to first have a small-scale example of an effective women's ministry that could be held up as a model for emulation elsewhere.<sup>108</sup> Undeterred, Klönne next wrote to Princess Marianne.

In her 21 September 1820 letter of reply, Princess Marianne strongly disagreed with Klönne that women should be elected to an ecclesiastical office. She cited two New Testament texts as her reasons. On the basis of 1 Timothy 2:11 ('A woman should learn in quietness and full submission'), Marianne concluded that electing deaconess contravened this biblical teaching that men only ought to hold positions of authority in the church. Furthermore, she believed that the commands of 1 Timothy 5:8 applied especially to wives and mothers ('Anyone who does not provide for their relatives, and especially for their own household, has denied the faith and is worse than an unbeliever'). She explained to Klönne that if a woman were elected a deaconess, her

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>108</sup> Julius Disselhoff, *Denkschrift zur Jubelfeier der Erneuerung des apostolischen Diakonissen-Amtes und der fünfzigjährigen Wirksamkeit des Diakonissen-Mutterhaus zu Kaiserswerth am Rhein* (Kaiserswerth: Verlag der Diakonissen-Anstalt, 1886), p. 10.

responsibilities in that role might conflict with her duties to her family. She suggested that the practice of charity was best left to volunteers.<sup>109</sup>

Several years later, Klönne tried a third time to gain the backing of a nationally prominent figure for his plans by writing to the presiding bishop of the united Protestant church in Prussia, Rulemaan Friedrich Eylert. In his 24 April 1824 reply, Eylert counselled Klönne that his plans could not be implemented in all congregation, but could only be realised ‘in those congregations that are truly animated with a Christian spirit and count pious woman among their members.’<sup>110</sup> Hereafter, Klönne ceased pursuing his plans regarding deaconesses and founded the Wesel Missionary Society in 1824, which he was active with until his death in 1834.<sup>111</sup>

In Hamburg in 1832, Amalie Sieveking did succeed in establishing the kind of local example of a successful women’s ministry that Stein and Eylert stated was first necessary to achieve before its model could be expanded nationally. This year, the 37-year-old unmarried daughter of one of the Senators of Free and Hanseatic City, founded the Women’s Society for the Care of the Sick and the Poor (*Weiblicher Verein für Armen- und Krankenpflege*).<sup>112</sup> Because this association was extra-ecclesiastical in nature it avoided the kind of biblical, theological objections that Princess Marianne had raised against women holding an official church office.

When she was aged 19 in 1813, Sieveking joined a group of women in her city who sewed shirts and knitted socks for soldiers who were enlisting in the uprising against Napoleon. In 1815 she became one of the founding teachers of a free school for poor girls in Hamburg whose parents could otherwise not afford their tuition.<sup>113</sup> As Sieveking studied the Bible to prepare her religious education lessons, she reported having an experience of religious awakening, in which she discarded her previous

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>112</sup> Amalie Sieveking, *Bericht über die Leistungen des weiblichen Vereins für Armen- und Krankenpflege* (Hamburg: Landhoff’schen Buchdruckerei, 1833), p. 1.

<sup>113</sup> Ulrich Heidenreich and Inge Grolle, *Wegbereiter der Diakonie* (Hamburg: Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte, 2005), pp. 73-75.

beliefs, ones that she later described had been ‘entirely rationalistic in nature’.<sup>114</sup> As she wrote in an 1816 letter to her brother, ‘How very dead is *Vernunft-Religion*, how unbearable it is for most people, and how cold does it leave the heart!’<sup>115</sup> In 1823, Sieveking published a 406-page collection of biblical exegetical and devotional essays that had developed out of her school lessons, which she prefaced with August Herman Francke’s 1711 classic essay, ‘Brief instructions regarding how to read the Holy Scriptures for their true edification’ (‘Kurzer Unterricht wie man die heilige Schrift zu seiner wahren Erbauung lesen solle’).<sup>116</sup> With the encouragement of Claus Harms, the Lutheran minister and ‘*Erweckungsprediger*’ in Kiel, four years later in 1827 Sieveking published a second volume of exegetical and devotional essays on Biblical texts.<sup>117</sup> This work received a positive review for the quality of its scholarship in the *Neues Journal für Prediger*, even as the reviewer noted that he did not agree with her ‘pietistic confession of faith’.<sup>118</sup>

Sieveking’s plans to found a Christian women’s association for social work can be traced to an 1819 diary entry. ‘Has not God given different vocations to his different creatures, and does not each one have its own joys? Will not the one that He has assigned to me compensate me for whatever hardships that I may face in it? If I am not to be happy as a wife and mother, then I shall be the founder of an order of sisters of mercy [*die Stifterin eines barmherzigen Schwesterordens*]’.<sup>119</sup> In 1824, her thoughts regarding the establishment of such an order were stimulated by the meetings she had with the former Bavarian Catholic priest Johannes Goßner during his visit to Hamburg.<sup>120</sup> This year she prepared, but did not publish, a detailed religious rule,

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<sup>114</sup> Emma Poel, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben von Amalie Sieveking, in deren Auftrage von einer Freundin derselben verfasst* (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1860), p. 20.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>116</sup> Amalie Sieveking, *Betrachtungen über einzelne Abschnitte der heiligen Schrift* (Hamburg: Perthes and Besser, 1823).

<sup>117</sup> Theodor Kuessner, *Die Erweckungsbewegung in Hamburg: im Spiegel der Briefe, Tagebücher und theologischen Schriften Amalie Sievekings* (Hamburg: Friedrich Witte, 1986), p. 97.

<sup>118</sup> Amalie Sieveking, *Beschäftigungen mit der heiligen Schrift* (Hamburg: Perthes and Besser, 1827); Anonymous, ‘Review of *Beschäftigungen mit der heiligen Schrift*, by Amalie Sieveking’, *Neues Journal für Prediger*, 53 (1828), pp. 333-34.

<sup>119</sup> Poel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, pp. 102-03.

<sup>120</sup> Jutta Schmidt, *Beruf: Schwester: Mutterhausdiakonie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1998), p. 45.

consisting of 69 articles, for a Protestant sisterhood that was based upon the model of Catholic women's religious orders.<sup>121</sup> Her rule stressed the pursuit of the mystical union of Christ through spiritual exercises and the care of the poor. 'Article 1: The purpose of the sisterhood is to serve the Lord Christ in his suffering brothers who are in need of help...Article 69: Community with the Lord: *This* is the great goal of our entire association. Let us never shift from this goal. We recognise that in order for our work to be a blessing to people, we must be in Christ and He must be in us.'<sup>122</sup> Between 1824 and 1831, Sieveking continued her writing and teaching while she waited for the right sign from God for her to publically initiate her women's association.<sup>123</sup>

During the autumn of 1831, northern areas of Germany were ravaged by the cholera outbreak that had originated in northwest India in 1826 and eventually claimed hundreds of thousands of lives across Europe before it subsided in 1837.<sup>124</sup> In response to this public health crisis, Sieveking appealed in the 10 September 1831 edition of one of the city's suburban newspapers, the *Bergedorfer Bote*, for her 'beloved brothers and sisters in the Lord,' to join her in nursing the hospitalised 'members of the poorer classes of our father city' who had become infected with the bacteria.

We now live in a world that lies in a pitiful condition, a veritable showplace of sufferings and sorrows. We are living in 'Christendom' but are surrounded by those to whom 'Christianity' is just an empty word, those who have not experienced the sanctifying and quickening power of gospel in their own hearts. Dare we boast that we have had such an experience of the gospel? If we have, regardless of whether we are men or women, must we then not all consider ourselves to be missionaries in a certain sense? Have we thus not become those who are commanded to proclaim the glorious goodness of Christ, who has called us to into his wonderful light, so that through our witness other souls may not drift away, but rather, be returned to him who is their faithful shepherd? Perhaps a few of the lost may be called to Christ through the witness of our words, but

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., pp. 45-49.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., pp. 47-48.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>124</sup> George Childs Kohn, 'Asiatic Cholera Pandemic of 1826-1837', in *Encyclopedia of Plague and Pestilence: From Ancient Times to the Present*, ed. by George Childs Kohn (New York: Infobase, 2008), p. 15.

the greater witness of an life that is delighted in God and active in works of love is a sacred duty that is incumbent upon all Christians together.<sup>125</sup>

Her impassioned rhetoric notwithstanding, her posthumous 1860 biography reports that no one joined her at the St. Ericus Hospital. However, the following year twelve other women joined with her in founding the Women's Society for the Care of the Sick and the Poor.<sup>126</sup>

Sieveking wrote the bylaws of her society which detailed the procedures by which its members would determine the eligibility of poor people for assistance. In order to standardise such evaluations, she created a form that her sisters would complete after visiting an applicant's home. This recorded the names and birthdays of all the family members, their address, the occupations of the parents, any medical issues, 'if they belonged to the class of the honourable poor [*rechtlichen Armen*],' whether or not they received any other charitable assistance, as well as the visitor's general impressions regarding 'the cleanliness and orderliness' of the home. If a family was approved for assistance, a sister then visited them either twice a week, weekly, or twice a month (depending on the severity of their need); each family was visited by a rotation of three different sisters. Sieveking did not believe in distributing money to poor people; instead visitors from her society delivered food, fuel, clothing and other necessities of life. During their visits, the sisters engaged in conversation with the family that was intended to be both spiritually encouraging and religiously didactic. Each year the society elected a president, who was responsible for organising a meeting every Wednesday from 3 pm to 4 pm at which the members of the association discussed its affairs and the cases of the families that they visited.<sup>127</sup>

The society published annual reports of its expenditures and activities to inform donors and publicise its activities. From the twenty annual reports that were published between 1833 and 1852, it is possible to track the growth of Sieveking's association in

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<sup>125</sup> Amalie Sieveking, 'Amalie Sievekings Aufruf an christliche Seelen', in *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Inneren Mission*, ed. D.M. Hennig (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1912), pp. 165-69.

<sup>126</sup> Poel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 179.

<sup>127</sup> Amalie Sieveking, 'Statuten des Vereins', *Zweiter Bericht über die Leistungen des weiblichen Vereins für Armen- und Krankenpflege* (Hamburg: Landhoff'schen Buchdruckerei, 1834), pp. 1-6.

the chart below. Income is given in thaler. The second column is the number of members that the society had in a given year. Column A is the number of new families the association accepted for assistance each year, B is the total number of families that the association provided assistance to in a given year, C is the cumulative total of all the families that the association helped).

**Weiblicher Verein für Armen- und Krankenpflege, families assisted 1833-52**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Income</b>	<b>Sisters</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>
1833	1,332	20	79	79	79
1834	4,044	25	52	131	131
1835	5,674	27	56	187	187
1836	8,029	33	51	115	238
1837	6,883	36	50	126	288
1838	9,187	43	44	131	332
1839	9,295	45	48	135	380
1840	9,756	46	43	141	423
1841	7,792	54	42	166	465
1842	11,368	53	46	179	511
1843	7,827	61	41	177	552
1844	13,129	64	36	190	588
1845	12,469	65	47	193	635
1846	13,051	70	45	215	679
1847	15,121	73	42	226	721
1848	13,507	75	38	233	759
1849	10,056	79	44	237	803
1850	12,184	69	46	247	849
1851	14,265	76	43	254	892
1852	16,812	76	45	264	937

Until her death in 1859, Sieveking was annually re-elected as the president of her association. On the one hand, its direct achievements were relatively modest; it provided annual material assistance to about 1,000 people. The society celebrated its 175<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2007 and continues to operate today, although it ceased to visit people in their homes in 1922 and evangelism is in no way any longer part of its institutional

mission.<sup>128</sup> However, that Sieveking's society operated successfully, albeit on a small scale, demonstrated for the first time that Protestant women could organise and operate an effective public ministry. Indeed, as the member of the supreme consistory of the Prussian State Church Johann Hinrich Wichern eulogised Sieveking, her society was the 'prototype of numerous other associations and institutions... These living monuments to Sieveking's love for the poor stand now in the work that Christian women are doing in many cities in northern Germany, Switzerland, the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland.'<sup>129</sup>

Sieveking's accomplishments helped to build momentum within the Awakening movement for the creation of other ministry opportunities for women. In 1835, Count Recke-Volmerstein published a booklet, *The deaconess, or the life and work of the servants of the church in teaching, caring for children, and nursing*, in which he called for Protestants to re-establish the ecclesiastical office of the deaconess on the basis of biblical and ancient ecclesiastical precedents.<sup>130</sup> Recke-Volmerstein's proposals attracted the attention of the Crown Prince of Prussia, who came to the throne in 1840 as Friedrich Wilhelm IV. He wrote in a 6 November 1835 letter to Recke-Volmerstein, 'I have read your thoughts on the revival of the order of deaconess with true joy. For many years, I have thought how deaconesses are one of the many things that our churches truly need, but presently lack. Their absence is a disfigurement – our church is like a face that lacks a nose. I especially agree that the office of deaconess ought to be an official church office.'<sup>131</sup> German Protestant deaconesses finally became a reality on 30 May 1836 when the Lutheran pastor Theodor Fliedner founded the Rhenish-Westphalian Deaconess Association (*Rheinisch-Westphälischen Diakonissen Verein*). However, in contrast to the crown prince's personal preference, its bylaws announced that it was 'a

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<sup>128</sup> Heinrich Sieveking, *Der weibliche (Sieveking'sche) Verein für Armen- und Krankenpflege in Hamburg: Ein Gedenkblatt zur Erinnerung an die Stifterin und ihr Werk* (Hamburg: Verlag des Vereins, 1932), p. 70.

<sup>129</sup> Johann Hinrich Wichern, 'Einleitung', in *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben von Amalie Sieveking, in deren Auftrage von einer Freundin derselben verfasst*, by Emma Poel (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1860), (pp. iii-xii), pp. vii-viii.

<sup>130</sup> Adalbert von der Recke-Volmerstein, *Die Diaconissin oder Leben und Wirken der Dienerinnen der Kirche für Lehre, Erziehung und Krankenpflege* (Dusselthal: Verlag der Rettungs-Anstalt, 1835).

<sup>131</sup> Disselhoff, *Denkschrift zur Jubelfeier der Erneuerung des apostolischen Diakonissen-Amtes*, p. 11.



free, Christian association that is based on the example of the apostolic deaconesses. The association is independent and autonomous from both state and church authorities.<sup>132</sup>

Fliedner was born into a Lutheran manse in the village of Epstein near Darmstadt in 1800. During the Wars of Liberation, his family became ruined when 14 Russian soldiers were quartered in their home during the winter of 1813-14. His two elder sisters were abused by Russian soldiers and one of his younger sisters died from fever. Unfortunately, after his father also succumbed to fever, Fliedner, his mother, and his other eight siblings had to leave their home to make room for the new pastor.<sup>133</sup> The generosity of family friends enabled Fliedner to attend gymnasium and study theology at the Universities of Giessen and Göttingen.<sup>134</sup>

In 1822, Fliedner became the pastor of a small Lutheran congregation in the village of Kaiserswerth. One month after he was installed as the minister, the village's main source of employment, a weaving mill that produced velvet cloth (*Sammetfabrik*), closed. Consequently, this created a crisis for the parish's finances. Because they were situated in an overwhelmingly Catholic area of the Rhineland, there was no immediate help available from other Protestants. Therefore, Fliedner travelled first to Barmen, Elberfeld, and Duisburg to ask for assistance. When the amount he received was insufficient, he then travelled down the Rhine into the Netherlands and then across the sea to England.<sup>135</sup> Reformed and Anglican Protestants (including the Archbishop of Canterbury and William Wilberforce) took considerable pity on their Lutheran co-religionists and altogether gave the equivalent of 21,667 thaler (15,303 thaler from the Netherlands, and 6,364 thaler from England).<sup>136</sup> This capital was enough for Fliedner to

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<sup>132</sup> Theodor Fliedner, *Das erste Jahr-Zehnt der Diakonissen-Anstalt zu Kaiserswerth am Rhein, in einem Abdrucke der zehn ersten Jahresberichte* (Kaiserswerth: Verlag der Diakonissen-Anstalt, 1847), p. vi; Theodor Fliedner, *Nachricht über das Diakonissen-Werk in der christlichen Kirche, alter und neuer Zeit, auch über die Diakonissen-Anstalt zu Kaiserswerth* (Kaiserswerth: Verlag der Diakonissen-Anstalt, 1858), p. 13.

<sup>133</sup> Georg Fliedner, *Theodor Fliedner: Durch Gottes Gnade Erneurer des apostolischen Diakonissenamtes in der evangelischen Kirche*, I (Kaiserswerth: Verlag der Diakonissen-Anstalt, 1908), pp. 21-22.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-30.

<sup>135</sup> Theodor Fliedner, *Collektenreise nach Holland und England*, I (Essen: G.D. Bädeker, 1831), pp. 1-7.

<sup>136</sup> Fliedner, *Theodor Fliedner*, pp. 152-55.

pay for necessary repairs to the church in Kaiserswerth and invest the remainder such that it generated enough annual interest to pay for the parish's annual expenses.<sup>137</sup>

During his 14-month journey between June 1823 and August 1824, Fliedner witnessed many types of Christian charity and social reform ministries in the Netherlands and in England that he later sought to emulate in Germany. Fliedner observed how Dutch Mennonite congregations elected women to the ecclesiastical office of deaconess and charged them with administering their congregation's charity. He noted that the work of Anabaptist deaconesses resembled that of the women's associations that had been active in Prussia between 1813 and 1815. In the account of his travels that he published in 1831 he recommended that 'this ancient Christian institution should be revived in other Protestant churches.'<sup>138</sup> In England, Fliedner attended the annual London May meetings of the evangelical religious voluntary societies. He later described in an 1856 article how hearing about the various activities of British evangelical organisations inspired him to begin similar work in Germany.

During my journey to these two Protestant countries, I became familiar with a multitude of charitable institutions that exist to care for both the bodies and the souls of poor people: institutions for schools and the upbringing of children, orphanages, poorhouses, workhouses, societies for the rehabilitation of prisoners, Bible Societies, and missionary institutes. A living faith in Christ called all of these institutions and associations into being and upholds them still. As I became aware of the fruitfulness of the faith of those who had built these, and of their powerful acts of love, my own weak faith was powerfully strengthened. I was especially moved by the majestic, worldwide work of the British and Foreign Bible Society and that of the societies for prisoners begun by [the Quakers] Elizabeth Fry, William Allen, and Robert Forster... With admiration and gratitude to God that I was permitted to see all of these great miracles of love of evangelical faith, I returned to my country in great shame that we men of Germany had allowed women to so surpass us in works of love, especially regarding prisoners, about whom we had previously thought so little. Because the small size of my parish has afforded me more free time than that which most of my fellow pastors have, with the aid of the power of the Lord, I have attempted

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>138</sup> Theodor Fliedner, *Collektenreise nach Holland und England*, I (Essen: G.D. Bädeker, 1831), pp. 150-51.

to remedy our shortcomings in this regard ever since I returned from that journey which so opened my eyes and strengthened my faith.<sup>139</sup>

The Rhenish-Westphalian Deaconess Association (1836) became the third religious voluntary society for social reform that Fliedner founded after returning to Germany, following the Rhenish-Westphalian Prison Society (1826) and a half-way house where women prisoners could live after their release from prison (1833).<sup>140</sup> Fliedner described his new association's aims as the revival of the ancient ecclesiastical office of the deaconess as this role had been described in the New Testament and in the writings of Tertullian of Carthage, the canons of the Council of Chalcedon, Epiphanius of Salamis, and the canons of the Councils of Carthage.<sup>141</sup> Moreover, he emphasised that this association would draw its religious ethos chiefly from the atonement theology ('*Bluttheologie*') that 'has been taught since the days of the Apostles by men of faith throughout all the centuries and down to Luther, Spener, and Francke.'<sup>142</sup> Fliedner's closest partners in his ministry with deaconesses were his first and second wives: Friederike Münster (married 1828, died in childbirth 1842), who had worked as a teacher at Count von der Recke-Volmerstein's *Rettungsanstalt* from 1826-28 and Caroline Bertheau (married 1843, died 1892), who was one of the girls whom Amalie Sieveking had taught.<sup>143</sup>

Fliedner's association acquired a three-story house in Kaiserswerth which it opened on 13 October 1836 as a hospital and deaconess-training institute (*Diakonissen Bildungs-Anstalt*).<sup>144</sup> While the Deaconess Association also trained young women to become school teachers, caregivers to orphan children, and to work with prisoners, its

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<sup>139</sup> Theodor Fliedner, 'Kurze Geschichte der Entstehung der ersten evangelischen Liebesanstalten zu Kaiserswerth', *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund : eine Zeitschrift für die Diakonie der evangelischen Kirche* 8 (1856), pp. 2-16 (pp. 3-5).

<sup>140</sup> August Schreiber, *Theodor Fliedners Lebenswerk: Gedenk-Blätter zur Hundertjahrfeier seines Geburtstages am 21. Januar 1900* (Kaiserswerth: Verlag der Diakonissen-Anstalt, 1900), pp. 10-21.

<sup>141</sup> Fliedner, *Nachricht über das Diakonissen-Werk*, pp. 3-6.

<sup>142</sup> Fliedner, *Das erste Jahr-Zehnt der Diakonissen-Anstalt zu Kaiserswerth am Rhein*, p. vii

<sup>143</sup> Anna Sticker, ed., *Friederike Fliedner und die Anfänge der Frauendiakonie: Ein Quellenbuch* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961), pp. 34-39; Ruth Felgentreff, 'Die Anfänge der Mutterhausdiakonie', *PuN*, 23 (1997), pp. 69-79 (pp. 76-77).

<sup>144</sup> Theodor Fliedner, *Erster Jahresbericht über die Diakonissen-Anstalt zu Kaiserswerth am Rhein, vom 13. Oktober 1836 bis 1. November 1837* (Düsseldorf, 1837), p. 2.

hospital work furnishes a particularly clear example of how the rationalisation of its charitable practices enabled them to be multiplied on a large scale. The following three charts record the numbers of women who became deaconesses in Kaiserswerth, the number of patients who were nursed by deaconesses in the hospital there, and the size of the donations that made this work financially possible. These figures were reported in the first twenty annual reports of the association.

### Patients admitted for treatment at the Kaiserswerth hospital 1836-1855

<b>Year</b>	<b>1837</b>	<b>1838</b>	<b>1839</b>	<b>1840</b>	<b>1841</b>	<b>1842</b>	<b>1843</b>	<b>1844</b>	<b>1845</b>	<b>1846</b>
New admittances	60	85	60	134	156	167	245	353	474	481
Annual population	60	102	99	160	192	206	292	421	568	555
<i>Men</i>	37	71	70	119	115	117	205	296	421	439
<i>Women</i>	23	31	29	41	77	89	87	125	147	116
<i>Protestants</i>	33	50	47	81	108	98	182	279	375	385
<i>Catholics</i>	27	52	51	78	83	107	109	141	188	168
<i>Jews</i>	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	2
<i>A</i>	33	47	36	50	83	86	136	154	194	171
<i>B</i>	27	55	63	110	109	120	156	267	374	384
<b>Cumulative total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>495</b>	<b>662</b>	<b>907</b>	<b>1260</b>	<b>1407</b>	<b>1888</b>
<b>Year</b>	<b>1847</b>	<b>1848</b>	<b>1849</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>1852</b>	<b>1853</b>	<b>1854</b>	<b>1855</b>	<b>1856*</b>
New admittances	526	511	523	511	550	578	646	527	679	610
Annual population	607	607	603	605	628	680	734	628	774	717
<i>Men</i>	462	466	458	480	462	530	548	484	572	515
<i>Women</i>	145	141	145	125	166	150	186	144	202	202
<i>Protestants</i>	415	344	353	350	425	486	502	421	516	467
<i>Catholics</i>	189	253	243	246	198	188	229	203	255	240
<i>Jews</i>	3	10	7	9	5	6	3	4	3	6
<i>A</i>	255	196	152	169	130	173	160	138	258	238
<i>B</i>	352	411	451	436	498	507	574	490	516	479
<b>Cumulative total</b>	<b>2414</b>	<b>2925</b>	<b>3448</b>	<b>3959</b>	<b>4509</b>	<b>5087</b>	<b>5733</b>	<b>6260</b>	<b>6939</b>	<b>7549</b>

(A = gratuitous treatment, B = remunerated treatment)

\* Report notes: 467 Protestants, 240 Catholics, 6 Jews, and 4 Mennonites

## Diseases treated at the Kaiserswerth hospital 1836-1855

Scabies (Krätze)	3,068
Skin diseases (Hautkrankheiten/Flechten/Grind/Lupus)	491
Respiratory diseases (Brustkrankheit/Schwindsucht)	384
Bone diseases (Knochenfraß)	369
Malaria (Wechselfieber)	364
Festering sores (Geschwüre)	360
Syphilis	344
Inflammation of the lymph nodes (Scrofeln)	303
Eye ailments (Augenleiden)	259
Nervous diseases (Nervenfieber/Nervenschwäche)	245
Abdominal diseases (gastrischem Fieber)	201
Joint disease (Gicht/Rheuma)	185
Vitamin D deficiency (englische Krankheit)	158
Inflammation (Entzündung)	154
Minor injuries (Wunden/Verletzungen)	114
Nose and throat diseases (Catarrhal-Fieber)	108
Edema (Wassersucht)	99
Scoliosis (Verkrümmung)	70
Cancer (Krebs)	67
Bruises (Quetschung)	65
Broken Bones (Knochenbrüchen)	57
Paralysis (Lähmung)	48
Blood diseases (Anemia/Gelbsucht)	38
Back ailments (Rückenmarksleid)	32
Viral colds (Erkältungsfieber)	28
Insanity (Wahnsinn/Hysterie)	28
Smallpox (Pocken)	27
Epilepsy	23
Seizures (Krämpfe)	21
Old age infirmity (Altersschwäche)	20
Typhus	20
Clubfoot (Klumpfuß)	19
Dysentary (Harnruhr)	19
Brain disease (Hirnleiden)	18
Cleft lip (Hasenscharte)	16
Blood vomiting (Blutbrechen)	11
Heart disease (Herzkrankheit)	7
Other diseases (23)	36

### Donations to Kaiserswerth and Annual Numbers of Deaconesses and Probationers

Year	Income (thaler)	Total Workers	Deaconesses	Probationers
1837	6,435	7	7	0
1838	3,529	8	6	2
1839	3,954	15	7	8
1840	5,280	19	13	6
1841	6,448	29	23	6
1842	9,929	47	27	20
1843	11,114	66	44	17
1844	15,460	89	55	34
1845	17,303	101	67	34
1846	21,666	108	78	30
1847	23,606	116	81	35
1848	22,216	115	85	30
1849	21,156	116	94	22
1850	23,351	134	99	35
1851	25,537	149	105	44
1852	30,793	166	116	50
1853	39,576	203	140	63
1854	37,966	222	157	65
1855	39,033	228	158	70
1856	47,907	244	165	79

As these charts illustrate, over this twenty-year period the Deaconess Association steadily increased both its number of deaconesses and the number of people to whom it was able to provide assistance. It achieved these outcomes by cultivating a wide network of supporters across German-speaking Europe through its establishment of ‘*Hilfs-Vereine*’ in numerous towns and cities.<sup>145</sup> These ‘supporting associations’ were comprised of women who promoted the work of institute in Kaiserswerth in their local communities in several ways.

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<sup>145</sup> Theodor Fliedner, ‘Statuten für Diakonissen-Hilfs-Vereine’, *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund: eine Zeitschrift für die Diakonie der evangelischen Kirche* 1 (1849), pp. 10-12.

Beginning in 1837, they promised to publicise its activities by distributing copies of its annual reports and other publications; from 1849 they also advertised its monthly periodical, *The Friend of the Sick and the Poor: A Magazine for the Diaconal Work of the Protestant Church*. Members of supporting societies pledged to gather monthly on Monday evenings from 8 to 10 pm to read the Bible, sing hymns, discuss news from Kaiserswerth, and to pray. To further enhance the sense of solidarity between supporting societies and Kaiserswerth, the institute sold a calendar that provided a schedule of Biblical texts that were to be used for each month's meeting. These calendars also included texts for each day of the month that members could use in their daily prayers on its behalf. In 1848, the institute printed 40,000 of these calendars.<sup>146</sup> The monthly meetings of the supporting societies also served as reception points for monetary donations and other goods that were requested by Kaiserswerth. Furthermore, the women of the supporting societies agreed to act as recruiters for the institute and to provide unmarried women and widows who were interested in training to become a deaconess with information about the process.

In order to strengthen relationships between the supporting societies and Kaiserswerth, two kinds of meetings were held each year. At the local level, the president, secretary, and treasury of each supporting society organised an annual general meeting for their members at which they presented an annual report to either Caroline Fliedner, the superintendent of Kaiserswerth, or a deaconess attending as her representative. Correspondingly, beginning in 1837, each supporting society was invited to send a representative to Kaiserswerth to attend the institute's annual meeting, celebrations, and thanksgiving services.<sup>147</sup>

The Kaiserswerth model for deaconess ministries was adopted and replicated widely across Germany, Europe, and North America and thousands of Protestant women followed into the defined forms of public Christian service as teachers and nurses that it pioneered. According to an 1878 survey there were by this time deaconess institutions in

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<sup>146</sup> Theodor Fliedner, 'Zwölftes Jahresfest unsrer Diakonissen-Anstalt gefeiert am 25. September 1848', *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund: eine Zeitschrift für die Diakonie der evangelischen Kirche*, 1 (1849), pp. 4-10 (p. 7).

<sup>147</sup> Fliedner, 'Statuten für Diakonissen-Hülfes-Vereine', pp. 10-12.



the following 27 German cities and 19 European and American cities that had been founded on the example of Kaiserswerth.

Berlin (Elisabethskrankenhaus)	1837	Paris	1841
Dresden	1844	Strassburg	1842
Berlin (Bethanien)	1847	Saint Loup, France	1842
Breslau	1850	Utrecht	1844
Königsberg	1850	Bern	1845
Stettin	1851	Stockholm	1849
Ludwigslust	1851	Pittsburgh, USA	1849
Karlsruhe	1851	Basel	1852
Neuendettelsau	1854	Zürich	1858
Stuttgart	1854	Saint Petersburg	1859
Augsburg	1855	London	1861
Halle	1857	Kopenhagen	1863
Darmstadt	1858	The Hague	1865
Speyer	1859	Mitau (Jelgava), Latvia	1865
Craschnitz (Silesia)	1860	Riga, Latvia	1866
Hannover	1860	London (Tottenham)	1867
Hamburg	1860	Reval (Tallinn), Estonia	1867
Danzig	1860	Helsinki	1867
Treysa (Hesse)	1864	Christiana, Norway	1868
Posen	1865	Viborg, Denmark	1869
Frankfurt-am-Main	1866		
Frankenstein	1866		
Berlin (Lazaruskrankenhaus)	1867		
Altona	1867		
Bremen	1868		
Bielefeld	1869		
Neu Torney (Pommerania)	1869		
Braunschweig	1870		
Flensburg	1874		
Berlin (Paul-Gerhard-Stift)	1876		

In aggregate, by 1878 the German deaconess institutes had trained a total of 2,845 deaconesses, who were then working in 906 asylums, hospices, hospitals, orphanages, prisons, and schools, while those institutes elsewhere had trained a total of 1,063

deaconesses who were working in 189 locations.<sup>148</sup> By 1888, there were 57 institutes worldwide that were modelled after Kaiserswerth, whose aggregate annual income was 6,378,608 thaler; in 1898 there were 80 institutes with an income of 10,996,902 thaler.<sup>149</sup>

## 6.4 Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated how the advent of modern civil society in early nineteenth-century Germany presented awakened Protestants with new possibilities for organising to pursue social reform goals in ways that German Protestants had never been able to so do before. Large numbers of Protestants concurred that exigent needs in many parts of Germany demanded that they begin social reform initiatives as a type of public Christian witness to people from socially deprived backgrounds. Conceptually, awakened Protestants connected their attempts to communicate the Christian message to those suffering from social ills to the work that German missionaries were then doing in Africa and Asia among historically non-Christian peoples. Many awakened Protestants also discerned an organic developmental link between the earlier ameliorative ministries of leading Pietists and their own efforts on behalf of the poor. A common criticism of Pietism and other expressions of Protestant revivalism has long been that their visions of Christianity overly emphasized the pursuit of the eternal salvation of souls to the detriment of concerns pertaining to temporal well-being. This chapter has shown how many awakened Protestants operated with a holistic view of the human person in their practice of evangelism.

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<sup>148</sup> Theodor Schäfer, *Die weibliche Diakonie, I: Die Geschichte der weiblichen Diakonie* (Hamburg: Wolf Lothar Oemler, 1879), pp. 234-37.

<sup>149</sup> Schreiber, *Theodor Fliegners Lebenswerk*, p. 39.



## Conclusion

Let us conclude our study of the early nineteenth-century Awakening movement by first reflecting on its significance within the history of the German Protestant tradition before then discussing how research on awakened German Protestantism can serve as foundation for new comparative and transnational approaches to the study of modern European Protestantism.

When Martin Luther penned the preface to his 1526 German Mass, he expressed his deep frustrations with how poorly most German people understood the Christian faith and, resultantly, how low their levels of Christian commitment were. After arguing that Protestants should still conduct some public worship services in Latin so that they could retain the sacred music of the medieval church and utilise Protestant Latin liturgies as evangelistic vehicles, Luther stated that ‘for the sake of the unlearned lay people’, it was paramount for public worship to begin to be held in German. ‘There are so many people who do not believe and are not yet Christians.’<sup>150</sup> According to Luther, ‘most’ of those who attended public worship services at that time in Germany, ‘stand around and gape, hoping to see something new, just as if we were holding a service among the Turks or the heathen in a public square or out in a field.’<sup>151</sup> As a whole, Luther declared that the German people were ‘not yet a well-ordered and organised congregation, in which Christians could be ruled according to the gospel. On the contrary, the gospel must be publicly preached to move them to believe and become Christians.’<sup>152</sup>

Luther next described his wish for a third kind of mass, one that would be held in private and in addition to the public services that followed the liturgies of his reformed Latin Mass and new German Mass. ‘The third kind of service should have a truly evangelical order and should not be open for just anyone to attend [*Aber die dritte weyse, die rechte art der Evangelischen ordnunge haben solte, muste nicht so offentlich auff dem platz geschehen unter allerley volck*]. Those who are seriously committed to

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<sup>150</sup> Martin Luther, ‘Deutsche Messe 1526,’ WA 19 (1897), pp. 44-113 (p. 74).

<sup>151</sup> Ibid, p. 74.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, pp. 74-75.

following Christ and who profess the gospel with their words and their deeds should come together to meet with each other alone in a house to pray, to read the Bible, to baptize, to take communion, and to do other Christian works.’<sup>153</sup> Luther envisioned that such religious societies would have a highly communitarian religious ethos, which would mirror the practices of New Testament-era churches. ‘Under such an evangelical order, those who do not live obedient Christian lives could be known, rebuked, disciplined, and if need be, excommunicated, according to the rule given by Christ in Matthew 18. In such a community, one could also take up collections for benevolent gifts to be willingly disbursed among the poor, according to St. Paul’s example in 2 Corinthians 9.’<sup>154</sup>

While Luther set this kind of Christian corporate worship and fellowship as an ultimate aspirational goal for his ecclesiastical and theological reforms, he was not at all sanguine on the likelihood of seeing it appear during his lifetime. ‘In short, if there were those who desired to earnestly follow Christ in these ways, the rules to guide them in this life of faith could soon be made ready for them. But at this present time, neither can I, nor do I, desire to begin to write such guidelines or to call people into such a community. Neither do I yet have people who are prepared for it, nor do I see many people who would want to be part of such a community.’<sup>155</sup> Luther’s notion of a truly ‘evangelical’ expression of Christianity became an ideal which many subsequent German Protestants pursued and spoke about when they employed the rhetoric of religious awakening.

When it is evaluated against this historical background, the Awakening movement represents substantial progress towards the realisation of the type of small-group, heartfelt religion that Luther identified in the 1520s as the long-term goal of his ecclesiastical reformation. As one local example of how awakened Protestants’ voluntary societies transformed the religious landscape in Germany consider the Free

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid, p. 75.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, p. 75.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, p. 75.

City of Hamburg. According to Wichern's reckoning, between 1814 and 1844 the following awakened Protestant associations and institutions were established there:

- 1814 The Hamburg and Altona Bible society (*Hamburgische-Altonaische Bibelgesellschaft*)
- 1820 Lower Saxon society for the distribution of Christian devotional literature (*Niedersächsische Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung christlicher Erbauungsschriften*)
- 1822 Hamburg mission association (*Hamburger Missionsverein*)
- 1822 The Protestant institution for fallen women (*Das Evangelische Magdalenstift*)
- 1825 St. Georg Sunday school (*St. Georger Sonntagsschule*)
- 1825 St. Georg home for widows (*Wittwenplatz in St. Georg*)
- 1827 Institute for the deaf and the mute (*Taubstummenanstalt*)
- 1827 Institute for the blind (*Blindenanstalt*)
- 1830 Men's pastoral visitation society (*Männlicher Besuchsverein*)
- 1830 St. Pauli charity school (*Armenschule auf St. Pauli*)
- 1830 Christian lending library (*Christliche Leihbibliothek*)
- 1831 Association to support Christians in need (*Verein zur Unterstützung hilfsbedürftiger Christian*)
- 1832 Hamburg women's association for the care of the sick and the poor (*Weiblicher Verein für Armen- und Krankenpflege*)
- 1833 The Rauhe Haus orphanage (*Rauhes Haus*)
- 1834 Apprentices' association (*Jünglings-Verein*)
- 1835 St. Georg women's association for the care of the sick and the poor (*St. Georger Weiblicher Verein für Armen- und Krankenpflege*)
- 1837 North German mission society training academy (*Gründung des Missionshauses der Norddeutschen Missions-Gesellschaft*)
- 1839 Association for the welfare of released prisoners (*Verein zur Fürsorge für entlassene Straflinge*)
- 1840 Temperance society (*Verein gegen das Branntweintrinken*)
- 1840 Association against cruelty to animals (*Verein gegen Theirquälerei*)
- 1841 Association for German immigrants to America (*Verein für Amerika*)
- 1842 Association against the lottery (*Verein gegen das Lotteriespiel*)
- 1844 Gustav-Adolphs Association for supporting Protestant congregations in Catholic areas (*Gustav-Adolphs-Verein*)
- 1844 Association of the friends of Israel (*Verein von Freunden Israels*)
- 1845 Association for the supervision of former pupils of the Sunday school (*Beaufsichtigungs-Verein der entlassenen Zöglinge des Sonntagsschules*)<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Johann Hinrich Wichern, 'Die in den letzten 25 Jahren gestifteten christlichen Vereine und Anstalten zur Hebung leiblicher und geistlicher Not hunter Wittwen, Waisen, Armen, Gefangenen in Hamburg', *FBRH*, 1 (1844), pp. 186-188 (p. 187).

The University of Munich historian Thomas Nipperdey's encyclopaedic *magnum opus* on nineteenth-century German history provides a fitting closing synopsis of the Awakening movement. The era between Napoleon to Bismarck was shaped by a general 'Wendung zur Religion,' – 'a turning towards religion.'<sup>157</sup> It was an 'an age characterised by Christianity and the Churches,' an era of modern German history in which new developments in religious life were among its chief 'products and creative forces.'<sup>158</sup>

One reason that is particularly important for Anglophone scholars to conduct further research into awakened German Protestantism is that the existing English-language historiography of post-Reformation Protestantism is, not unsurprisingly, dominated by an Anglocentric perspective. This bias is especially acute when it comes to the study of modern Protestant religious reform and revival movements. For example, one contributor to the 2007 *Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology* has argued:

The nineteenth century also saw the beginnings of evangelicalism as a movement in continental Europe. Robert Haldane had been eager to send missionaries to Germany and Italy in the early years of the London Missionary Society, and his own residence in Geneva (particularly his lectures on Romans) gave rise both to a number of evangelical ministers within the Reformed churches of Europe, and to a small Independent congregation that reflected his slightly restorationist views. At the inaugural meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in 1846, delegates were present from various European countries. For the first significant theology from Europe that might reasonably be classed as evangelical, however, we need to look to the last third of the century, and the extraordinary achievements of Abraham Kuyper.<sup>159</sup>

Likewise, the otherwise brilliant 2012 work written by Mark Hutchinson and John Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism* (which is also published by Cambridge University Press) discusses awakened Protestantism neither in Germany nor in any other other continental European country. Such presentations inadvertently create the misleading impression that Protestant awakenings were uniquely the products of British and American religious cultures and thus somehow foreign to continental

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<sup>157</sup> Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1800-1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag, 1991), pp. 405-06.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 403.

<sup>159</sup> Stephen Holmes, "British (and European) evangelical theologies," in *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology*, ed. by Timothy Larsen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 249.

Europe. These oversights are especially regrettable because German-speakers actually constituted a plurality of the global Protestant population as late as 1800 and were a plurality of the European Protestant population up until the eve of the First World War.<sup>160</sup> At this time the German Census of 1910 reported 39,987,919 Protestants living in the German Empire and, according to several estimates of religious affiliation made by British newspapers at the time of the British Census of 1911, there were then approximately 39,600,000 Protestants resident in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.<sup>161</sup>

In their illuminating collection of essays, *The Enlightenment in National Context*, Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich argue that the Enlightenment was one coherent intellectual and cultural movement with at least thirteen discrete national expressions in Europe, Britain and America.<sup>162</sup> This way of thinking about the Enlightenment is quite a helpful model for thinking about the unity between, and the diversity among, different nineteenth-century Protestant ‘Awakenings’ and ‘evangelicalisms.’ In contrast to how there are numerous studies that present the Reformation and the Enlightenment as European-wide cultural phenomena, there is currently no study written in English that offers a similarly comprehensive and integrated, comparative history of the European Protestant Awakening movements of the early nineteenth century. Such a study would enable English-speakers to better understand similarities and differences between the *Erweckung* in German-speaking Europe, the *Opwekking* in the Netherlands, the *Réveil* in Francophone Europe, and the Evangelical movement in the British Isles.

There are also good reasons to study these European religious developments without primary reference to their national contexts. As Hartmut Lehmann has noted in a 2010 essay on the current state of Pietism research, ‘As far as I know, in the Pietism

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<sup>160</sup> Michael Anderson, *British Population History: From the Black Death to the Present Day* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 21; Ellen Lovell Evans, *The Cross and the Ballot: Catholic Political Parties in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands, 1785-1985* (Boston: Brill, 1999), p. 2.

<sup>161</sup> Frank Moore Colby, ed. *The New International Year Book for the Year 1917* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1918), pp. 289-90 and 310; J. Scott Keltie, ed. *The Statesman's Year-Book for the Year 1913* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1913), p. 26-28.

<sup>162</sup> Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *The Enlightenment in National Context* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).



research of the past few decades...both the role of religious networks and the role of communication among those who considered themselves to be God's loyal children, have not been studied extensively and carefully enough.'<sup>163</sup> Indeed, readers and contributors to such periodicals as the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* in Berlin, the *Fliegende Blätter aus dem Rauhen Hause* in Hamburg, the *Archives du christianisme au dix-neuvième siècle* in Paris, the *Christelijke Stemmen* in Amsterdam, and the *Evangelical Magazine* in London exchanged news to such a considerable extent that without exaggeration they can be said to have created a veritable Republic of Letters of the Kingdom of God. The articles in these publications can be used as a starting point for answering a number of other research questions that Lehmann has raised:

Which texts were [circulated between Protestants from Britain, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Germany], translated and printed in other languages in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? How many religious leaders travelled back and forth, and whom did they meet? I suspect that we have to reckon with a religious book-market number thousands of books and millions of tracts before the end of the nineteenth-century, and with several thousand, if not a hundred thousand, travelling missionaries and religious agents in that period. But who read what? Who visited whom? Which networks expanded in which period of time, and what made them especially attractive?<sup>164</sup>

As one example of the potential that these sources have to answer such questions, consider the letter that was written by Abraham Capadose and published in the 1855 *Christelijke Stemmen*. Herein, the Jewish convert to the Dutch Reformed Church favourably compared his experience of attending the meeting of the *Evangelischer Kirchentag* in Frankfurt in 1854 to his earlier attendance of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in Edinburgh in May 1846 and the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in London in 1851.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Hartmut Lehmann, *Religiöse Erweckung in gottferner Zeit* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2010), pp. 144-153 (p. 152).

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, p. 153.

<sup>165</sup> Abraham Capadose, "De Kirchentag," *De Vereeniging: Christelijke Stemmen* 8 (1855): 314-24. Abraham Capadose, *Deux Discours du Docteur Abraham Capadose prononcés l'un devant l'assemblée générale de l'église libre d'Écosse (25 Mai 1846), l'autre au congrès de l'alliance évangélique (Londres, Aout 1851)* (Paris, 1853).

You know how much it saddened me to have to tell you that I was not able to attend the *Kirchentag* last year. The experience had acquainted me with and led me to value the usefulness and sweetness of finding oneself in the middle of a large group of men outstanding in knowledge and science, but especially in faith and their zeal for God who had come together to discuss the most important matters of the our day that can be discussed during this time of our earthly sojourn, matters that stand in direct connection with our heavenly country, where we, by the grace of God, will no longer be called sojourners. On my previous trips to Scotland and England I rejoiced with the sacred joy that came from being in fellowship with so many others brothers. It was wonderful for me to gain thereby a broader view of the things that are occurring in God's kingdom beyond our home country. At that time, I wished to be able enjoy that experience in Germany as well, as I am indeed now doing.<sup>166</sup>

Through such relationships awakened European Protestants exchanged both popular and academic religious literature as well as information about the operations of new religious organisations and institutions. Such a study of transnational Protestant networks would also show how these Protestant religious renewal movements collectively promoted an early kind of modern European identity that was based on common religious beliefs. By placing into a European frame of reference aspects of modern Protestant religious history that heretofore have been studied mostly in regards to individual national contexts, this research has can clarify how religious developments in many local settings were part of a continent-wide religious phenomenon.

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid, 314-15.



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